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The Shape of Things

ONE THING ABOUT MR. ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH: we couldn't possibly imagine Mr. Dewey making it. It was not merely the dextrous skill of the old campaigner over against the synthetic play-acting of the tyro. It was not just the humor, earthy and colloquial—Lincoln would have chuckled over the "lugubrious adage" about mentioning rope in the house of one who has been hanged and the Republicans shying away from the word "depression." It was not just the hammer blows nailing down the big falsehoods in the Republican campaign. The impressive thing about Mr. Roosevelt's speech was that he spoke of issues the average American recognized as simple and basic. When the President said, "You remember the closed banks and the bread lines and the starvation wages; the foreclosure of homes and farms and the bankruptcies of business; the 'Hoovervilles' and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future," the average listener said to himself, "Yes, you bet I remember!" When he spoke about the "peace-building tasks" that were "botched by a Republican Administration" after the last war, the average listener thought of the isolationists before—and after—Pearl Harbor and echoed the President's words: "That must not happen this time." In all of those carefully-coached speeches, not once had Mr. Dewey come close to these realities. When Mr. Roosevelt said, "We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible to those who live in and are weighed down by the dead past," Mr. Dewey must have reflected sadly that destiny had placed him among the camp followers and not in the vanguard.

*

FOR GERMANY TO CONTINUE WAGING A lost war would make little sense if the time so dearly expended were dedicated only to making a Wagnerian exit. Actually, the Germans are using the time in two ways: (1) in trying to complete the transformation of the Nazi movement into a world underground, as Joseph Driscoll pointed out in his fascinating report in the *Herald Tribune* of September 20; (2) in attempting to liquidate the opposition, as revealed by recent events. On September 10 Karl Gördeler, the former Mayor of Leipzig, was hanged along with six others, among them William Leuschner, former Socialist minister

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from Essen and an anti-Nazi German labor leader from the beginning. A few days later the Berlin radio announced the death by British bombing of Ernst Thälmann and the Socialist Rudolf Breitscheidt. Swiss reports revealed the arrest of several former members of the Reichstag and the Prussian parliament. It is more than likely that the last phase of the war will see a mass murder of all elements from which might come the leaders of a movement to rebuild German democracy. This is the moment for the United Nations to issue a vigorous warning to the Nazis that they will be held responsible for all future atrocities against anti-Nazi Germans no less than for those committed against non-Germans. Himmler and his chief officers cannot by themselves kill the entire German anti-Nazi movement. An Allied bombardment by broadcast and leaflet might have a restraining influence on Nazis, even in the army and the police force, if they become convinced that acts of terror against their own countrymen would result in swift and ruthless retribution.

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HARSH THOUGH THE FINNISH PEACE TERMS were in comparison to those offered earlier in the year, they should at least allay the fear that Russia intends to impose communism on Eastern Europe. The most severe demand, from Finland's standpoint, was for the cession of Petsamo, Finland's sole outlet to the Arctic, together with the neighboring nickel mines. Russia also obtained a fifty-year lease on the Porkkala Peninsula, near Helsinki. In addition, the Finns will be compelled to pay reparation—in goods rather than in currency—to the value of $300,000,000 for damages caused by Finnish military operations on Soviet territory. The remaining clauses in the armistice are mainly of a military character, imposed to facilitate Allied moves against Germany. Although the Russian terms require that all pro-Nazi, anti-Allied, or anti-Soviet political organizations be dissolved, they do not dictate to Finland with regard to its economic system or interfere with its essentially democratic constitution. Marshal Mannerheim, long a bitter opponent of Russia, apparently remains as President. For the Finnish people the years ahead will undoubtedly be hard ones, but in the long run they will not be as hopeless as if Finland—and Hitler—had triumphed.

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AGAIN, AS IF BY DELIBERATE DESIGN, THE President has offended the French government and people—first, by designating an American "representative" to France without consulting or even notifying the French Foreign Office, and, second, by pointedly assigning him to the "de facto authority" instead of the Provisional Government. With a refreshing lack of diplomacy the new Foreign Minister, George Bidault, said he first heard of the appointment of Jefferson Caffery when he saw it in the newspapers. And he added, "There is no alternative government in France. There is today the Provisional Government of the French Republic. No differences exist between this government and the people of France. . . . For future amity it is important that the existence of the Provisional Government should be recognized." These are plain words. It is a shame that they had to be said at a time when the French people, their fighting forces, and their government not only have helped magnificently in clearing the land of Germans but form a solid, trustworthy protection for the rear of the advancing armies. But if the manner of Mr. Caffery's appointment was unfortunate, the appointment itself added insult to injury. From his earliest diplomatic assignment to his latest, Caffery has consistently served the most reactionary interests in his own country and in the country to which he was accredited. Some week soon *The Nation* will print a resume of his record. Meanwhile we say flatly, no man in the foreign service, with the questionable exception of Robert Murphy, could be less fitted to represent America in France.

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FOLLOWING THE LEAD OF BRITAIN AND Russia, the United States has recognized the independence of Syria and Lebanon—an interesting manner of amending the previous French mandate—and has raised our diplomatic agent in Beirut, Mr. George Wadsworth, to the rank of minister. Ever since his arrival in the Levant in 1942, Mr. Wadsworth has conducted himself in a way that is unbecoming, partisan, and detrimental to our interests. His extreme pan-Arab sentiments have left him unsympathetic to the problems of minority groups, particularly those of the Jews in Palestine and the Christians in Lebanon. From the day he arrived he has been General Spear's most zealous lieutenant in every move to oust the French and to weaken the Christian Lebanon. During the trouble in Beirut last November Mr. Wadsworth gave official credence to manifestly absurd stories of French atrocities reported to him by dubious Lebanese informers. Later, along with M. Delcoigne, the Belgian Minister, he took the initiative in stirring up public opinion against the appointment of General Beynet as the new French Delegate General on the patently invalid pretext that he was planning to reestablish French military dominance. Much more could be said of the record of Mr. Wadsworth, but perhaps this is enough to indicate that he is not the man to represent the United States in a region as politically ticklish as the Levant.

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A DARK PICTURE OF THE PROSPECTS FOR liberated Europe has emerged from the UNRRA conference now under way in Montreal. In his report to the UNRRA Council, former Governor Lehman revealed that despite all its efforts the agency has been able to collect but a small part of the supplies needed for long-

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range rehabilitation work. Supplies of clothing are so short that a national campaign to collect second-hand clothes is in prospect; the agency has been able to buy only about one-sixth of the meat and fish required and one-sixth of the badly needed supplies of fats, and has no stores of milk or milk products. The policy committee of the UNRRA council has recommended "limited" help to Italy of $50,000,000. This is important in establishing UNRRA's right in Italy. Other resolutions of the committee provide aid for Allied nationals, Jews, and others found in enemy territory and a unified standard of relief throughout liberated Europe. With regard to the liberated areas as a whole, conflict has developed between UNRRA and the military authorities over the length of the military control period. Experience has shown that the army authorities, placing military considerations above all others, have been unable—either in Italy or in France—to do much toward the restoration of normal economic activities. It is to be hoped that a compromise can be reached to permit UNRRA, working in close cooperation with the army, to assume immediate charge of relief operations.

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CONGRESS HAS SCURRIED FOR HOME AFTER hitting a new low in irresponsibility. Called into special session in August to provide legislation to enable the country to withstand the drastic shocks of demobilization and reconversion, Congress responded with a feeble bill covering the disposal of surplus materials, but did nothing whatsoever for the millions of war workers who will be released after Germany's capitulation. Campaign orators of both parties are shouting from the house tops about jobs, but their representatives in Congress have not made a single move to create jobs or to facilitate the provision of jobs by private industry. The so-called reconversion bill, passed last week by both houses, consisted simply of a reaffirmation of the right of the states to pay differing rates of unemployment compensation for those already covered by insurance. The millions of workers in the federal shipyards and arsenals, who face a peculiarly difficult problem in the transition to civilian employment, are ignored completely.

*

EVERY DECENT WORKER AND EVERY FRIEND of labor should blush at the refusal of the New York State Federation of Labor to indorse Robert F. Wagner for reelection to the United States Senate. Labor has had no better friend in public life than the grand old senior Senator from New York. From his youthful days as an Assemblyman in Albany, Wagner has consistently championed the interests of the workingman. The A. F. of L. indorses Dies and it indorses Stephen A. Day of Illinois, but it cannot make up its mind to indorse the father of the National Labor Relations Act, "the Wagner Act." This is a strange way to carry out the policy of rewarding one's friends and punishing one's enemies. Fortunately, in this as in so many similar cases, the A. F. of L. rank and file may be counted on to ignore the die-hard clique that rules in its name.

*

RAILROADS ADVERTISE, AND NEWSPAPERS do not look too closely into the causes of railroad wrecks. An exception is the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, which calls attention editorially to a little-noticed aspect of the recent collision of a Miami express and a mail train near Terre Haute, Indiana. More than a score of persons were killed in the accident, many of them wounded young men coming home on furlough from the Italian campaign. The crash occurred after the engineer on the Miami express ran past a red stop signal in the fog. The accident would never have occurred had the railroad been equipped with an available device which automatically stops or slows down a train that has run through a stop signal. "In the past eleven years," the *Post-Dispatch* points out, "416 persons have lost their lives on American railroads because railroad men missed block signals," and because 15,000 miles of railroad track in America are still unprotected by the automatic-obedience device. Railroads should be required by law to instal these and similar safety devices.

Hunger Does Not Wait

AS THE first Axis country extricated from the clutch of fascism, Italy offered the Allies a testing-ground for their ability, to aid in the restoration of European democracy. The results could hardly have been more discouraging. If anyone in this country is too complacent to recognize that fact, let him read the passionate outcry published in the Socialist *Avanti* in Rome, demanding that the Allied Control Commission leave Italy and allow the Italians to "administer our misery alone."

A few months ago the editor of the Political War Section of *The Nation*, J. Alvarez del Vayo, concluded his article, Goodby to Revolution, with these words: "The mistake of not seeing the meaning of the war may be paid for by another war. But before that we may be confronted with a tragic and ironic situation—the liberated countries of Europe struggling to free themselves from their liberators." That situation has arisen —even sooner than we expected.

The editorial in *Avanti* reflects the opinion not only of a radical group. "The Socialists," says a dispatch from Rome published in the New York *Times* on the same day, "are not alone in their criticism of the ACC. Italy, without exaggeration, is in an alarming state of misery and popular ferment, with a degree of consequent lawlessness that can only be understood by piling

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on top of one another dozens and dozens of known instances throughout the whole liberated zone."

We admit we had not expected that the Allies would fail even in providing the necessities of life to the liberated countries. Our chief anxiety was centered in the political field—on the tragic results, in terms of democracy, which must be the inevitable outgrowth of a war waged for years without clear democratic direction. Now we are forced to realize that there is little democracy and less bread in the Allied program.

Every recent report from Italy, including the official report of Brigadier General William O'Dwyer, has painted the same picture of hunger and of Allied inability to alleviate it. Rome's 1,400,000 holders of ration cards receive a daily food allowance of 650 to 750 calories, according to Russell Hill of the New York *Herald Tribune*. General O'Dwyer, who gave Hill this information, put the minimum requirement for subsistence at 1,500 calories a day, and for a healthful diet, 3,000. The General acknowledged that many working-class families have been forced to sell their blankets, clothing, and furniture to buy food.

"Hunger does not wait," said *Avanti*. And hunger and despair provide the background for what is happening and may happen in Italy. It is against this background that even the most unpleasant events must be judged. It was easily ignored in Herbert L. Matthews's long report to the New York *Times* of the killing by a mob of angry Roman citizens of Donnato Carreta, the former vice director of the Regina Coeli prison. The story may have established Mr. Matthews as a writer of Grand Guignol horrors but it did little for his reputation as an interpreter of post-war Europe. Imagine the emotions of anti-Fascist Italians who heard an American "telling the crowd"—we quote Mr. Matthews's own words—"that this is worse than fascism." Caruso, the Fascist chief of police on trial for his life, might have used these words unchanged in his own defense next day in court.

What is particularly disquieting is to find even intelligent American observers failing so completely to understand what is going on in Europe, and by their failure encouraging reactionary fears in this country of a radical and uncontrolled Europe. No sane person would suggest that the way in which Donnato Carreta was killed should be adopted as a pattern for the punishment of fascists and collaborators. But anybody who has ever read even a brief history of revolution and civil war in any country, including our own, should know that such things always happen and that if there is anything surprising in Europe today it is that so few incidents of this kind have occurred.

It is not only the passionate reaction of widows and relatives of martyred anti-Fascists that is responsible for excesses like the killing of Carreta. It is desperation, hunger, and, above all, the failure of the Allies to support democracy in Italy and to create the conditions for the rise of a strong Italian popular government. On one side we see the British interested in keeping Italy as weak as possible, and in preserving a monarchy which, owing its survival to Britain, would become an instrument to counteract the growing influence of Russia. On the other, we have American diplomacy trying to build up the strength of the Vatican and to promote an Italy dominated by the Church and the old nobility. Not even in their reactionary aims have the two Western Allies been able to agree and combine their efforts.

The solution, therefore, does not lie in a further tightening of Allied control in Italy, but in making possible the constitution of a popular government provided with the means and the power, financial and administrative, of working for the rebirth of a democratic Italian nation.

The Choice Before Chiang

THE collapse of the Chinese armies on the Kwangsi front, following similar severe setbacks in Hunan and Honan, appears to have precipitated a long overdue political crisis in Chungking. This was first apparent in a somewhat mysterious relaxation of censorship. For the first time since the outbreak of the war correspondents are permitted to speak of shocking conditions of corruption, inefficiency, and disorganization within the army—conditions which are discussed elsewhere in this issue by Betty Graham. With Nelson's visit to Chungking, correspondents have also been allowed to describe the appalling breakdown in Chinese war production. There have even been hints of an impending governmental shake-up. Although Chiang Kai-shek is not directly implicated in the military setbacks, his prestige has undoubtedly suffered. And with the defeats administered to the Central Government forces, the prestige of the Communist opposition has undoubtedly risen.

It is generally agreed that the chief prop of the present regime at Chungking has long been the American and British governments. But it has been an open secret for some time that the American government, at least, is dissatisfied with the slackness with which some Chungking generals and civilian authorities have prosecuted the war. Vice-President Wallace's visit to Chungking in June was undoubtedly a reflection of America's concern. General Hurley and Mr. Nelson took with them a more specific program for helping China to revitalize its entire war effort. Since such a revitalization cannot be carried out through the reactionary and defeatist officials who have long held key posts in the Chinese government, both Chungking and Washington dispatches hint at the possibility of a coalition government under Chiang Kai-shek that would include the Communists and the not unimpor-

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tant liberal groups, which have recently become more articulate than at any time for years. If a genuine war government were set up, the first man to be marked for elimination would presumably be Ho Ying-chin, the War Minister, who is chiefly responsible for the present chaos in China's military establishment. Close behind him would be the Chen brothers, leaders of the notorious C. C. clique which dominates Kuomintang politics.

Such a reorganization of the Chinese government can only occur under present conditions if the United States and Great Britain are prepared to pay a price in greatly increased military and economic aid for a more vigorous prosecution of the war on the part of the Chinese. The alternative, as suggested in Miss Graham's article, is a complete change in Allied Pacific strategy, involving an unpredictable lengthening of the war.

Campaign Notes

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MR. ROOSEVELT obviously enjoyed abandoning the roles of President and Commander-in-Chief to assume for a few moments his old star part as political campaigner. His very voice revealed the satisfaction he felt in the give and take of open political fight. Nor has his tongue lost its cunning. He can still turn an opponent's best dramatic effects into claptrap. The "Democratic candidate for reelection as President," as he was carefully described by the station announcer on Saturday night, removed from Mr. Dewey both the mantle of the New Deal, with which he has tried to cover his and his party's nakedness, and the cheap pretense that the depression was a Roosevelt invention. In this first political speech the President jolted a sluggish, inert campaign into sudden life and motion. And he did it by laying down a political barrage of terrible accuracy and armor-penetrating humor.

Not that the Dewey campaign has been entirely ineffective. It has been pedestrian and dull, but Mr. Dewey has, it seems to me, pulled out two good bits of strategy. One was the introduction of a foreign-policy adviser, John Foster Dulles, who has helped to steady the candidate's yawing course in foreign affairs, and whose knowledge and experience are stupendous compared with Mr. Dewey's. The too obvious effort of Dewey and his mentor to make the Administration appear both secretive and partisan at the start of the Dumbarton Oaks conference was neatly sidetracked by Mr. Hull. But the general effect of the Dulles appointment has been to give Dewey's campaign a respectable and fairly convincing foreign-policy front. It needed it badly.

The other effective piece of Dewey strategy has been his use of the undeniably cumbersome processes of wartime administration in Washington. The best example of this was in his Seattle speech of September 17. Speaking obviously to labor, the Republican candidate made great play of his enthusiastic support of the National Labor Relations Act; indeed, he claimed for the Republicans equal credit for its adoption. But then he devoted the bulk of his talk to a detailed chronicle of the run-arounds, the multiplication of agencies, the delays that have interfered with the purposes of the act and barricaded labor from its just rewards. He cited dramatic cases to illustrate his general charge. And he may have convinced some of his listeners that once a Republican Administration is in power and the bureaucratic obstacles have been swept away, the entire labor problem will have been solved to the satisfaction of consumers, employers, and "the great free labor movement of this country."

This is pretty good electioneering. Because what Mr. Dewey did not say, what he deliberately failed to say, may easily have escaped notice. He did not say a word about how, if he were elected, his administration would handle the great post-war conflicts which are bound to arise, not between labor and government, but between labor and capital. Not a word. You would think, if you didn't bother to think much, that government agencies were the only things that labor would have to deal with. For once Mr. Dewey forgot the employers. And he forgot the whole ominous picture of a demobilized war machine confronted with eleven million demobilized soldiers and an even greater number of workers for whom jobs can be found only if production is stepped up, not down. In short, he forgot the issue that will be the greatest issue of all when the war ends.

But these facts of industrial life are not being forgotten by everybody. They are the very substance of the thought and words of Henry Wallace. They infuse every act of the Political Action Committee. And it is because they provide the dynamite of the campaign on the domestic side that the counter-offensive against the P. A. C. has gathered such force. The right wing, from its respectable organs like the New York *Herald Tribune* to the ranting Hearst and McCormick press, is concentrating an impressive amount of fire on this single group. Within the last week a new organization has been formed dedicated solely to attacking the Hillman forces. I forget the name of this outfit, but you will doubtless soon get some circular literature from them telling you that only your dollar will prevent communism in America next January. One of the leaders is the fallible Mr. Bromfield.

All of this was to be expected, for the P. A. C. *is* effective, it openly advocates progressive policies, and it is a clear warning that labor is in politics on a national scale, and to stay. The counter-offensive is a tribute to the force the P. A. C. has been able to muster in so short a time.

But I think it indicates something more than this. I think it also indicates how feeble and passive the regular Democratic organizations have become. In very few states

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is the party fighting with the energy this election demands. Very few of the top Democratic leaders are doing a real job of campaigning. Apart from Mr. Wallace and the free-swinging Mr. Ickes, who among the President's chief supporters is talking or writing? One reason the Republicans are directing their fire at the P. A. C. is that it is almost the only political target within range. Without the P. A. C. this most crucial of all campaigns would have been the deadest and dreariest. And a dead campaign means fewer voters at the polls.

The War Fronts

BY CHARLES G. BOLTE

THE question of the duration of the European half of the war is being settled—as this is written (Sunday)—outside a city in the Netherlands. The late news has just come in: the air-borne division in the Arnhem pocket is still holding out, after seven days and nights of fighting, but its perimeter has been badly compressed; only limited contact has been established with General Dempsey's ground forces advancing up from Eindhoven and Nijmegen; patrols have had to cross the Lek by night under fire from Germans on the heights; and the weather is so foul that reinforcing by air is impossible. The situation is one of those so often encountered in war, where every operation is simple but even the most simple is terribly difficult, complex, and filled with chance. All the air-borne troops have to do is hold off the Germans, who are attacking from every side; all the ground forces have to do is break through to the relief, guarding the flanks of their long, narrow corridor as they advance; all the air crews have to do is wait for a break in the weather so they can fly in low through heavy ack-ack and drop men and ammunition in a restricted area with enemy fighters buzzing them as they go.

That's all anybody has to do, really, to win the war quickly: overcome the terrible friction inherent in the simplest warlike act. All anybody here can do is pray.

The success of the original undertaking was great. This largest of all air-borne operations went off under enemy fire much better than most such complicated performances go off in maneuvers. Within twenty-four hours of the droppings—made in broad daylight—the ground forces had broken through on the Netherlands border and joined with the air-borne troops near Eindhoven. Then came the drive northeast to Nijmegen, and the brilliant seizure of the big Waal bridge, intact, before the Germans could blow it—a happy reversal of a similar stunt four years ago.

Meanwhile the enemy rallied quickly, as he always does (who was it said the Germans didn't fight well on the defensive?), and counter-attacked violently all along the sides of the Allied corridor and all around the air-borne force which had been dropped closest to Germany, right across the last of the Rhine barriers, at Arnhem. The German High Command knew that if this force held out until the Second Army linked up with it, there would come a drive to turn the end of the thick Siegfried Line defenses at Kleve—a drive which could roll down behind the Germans holding the line, and which could also split off straight across the flat Westphalian plain toward Hanover and Berlin.

Presumably there is what amounts to a military vacuum in this area. The stiffness of the German resistance along the line from Arnhem to the Belfort Gap indicates that every available division has been committed to this action. If a breakthrough is made, and if it is exploited with the usual Eisenhower celerity, there should be a dash into Germany, the encirclement of large bodies of the enemy, the surrender of army corps, divisions, and smaller units piecemeal, and an early end to organized resistance in the west.

Because the German General Staff saw this pattern unfold in France and knows that it can unfold the same way in Germany, it is committing its remaining troops everywhere. And because the Kleve-Arnhem sector at the end of the Siegfried Line is the most vulnerable area for the Germans, this is where the most determined effort is being made to destroy the Allies and prevent the further unfolding of the familiar pattern. If the Allies can break through here, into that area of virtual military vacuum, the war in the west can be finished in very short order. If the air-borne division is wiped out, we shall have to try elsewhere, and the war will take longer.

Even so, it is hard to see how it can take very much longer. A quotation is apt:

> A study of Napoleon's tactics will show us that the first step he took in battle was not to break his enemy's front and then, when his own forces were disorganized, risk being hit by the enemy's reserves. Instead, his aim was to draw the enemy's reserves into the fire fight, and, once they were drawn in, either to hold and envelop them or break through them. This done the enemy was compelled to retire, when a pursuit became possible. What we should now aim at is a combination of the following ideas: (1) to force the enemy to mass his reserves in a given sector; (2) to disorganize these reserves *before* we break through them. This done, pursuit—the tactical act of annihilation—can take place. Pursuit is the dividend of victory.

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This quotation is neither from Eisenhower's operational order for the present battle nor from Major Eliot's daily column. It is from Major General J. F. C. Fuller's project for Marshal Foch, prepared in 1918 for use in 1919, not put into effect then because the Armistice intervened, but very obviously in effect today. The German reserves have been drawn into the fire fight both in Normandy and along the Westwall; they were held and enveloped in Normandy, and will either be held and enveloped in the Netherlands or broken through in Germany. The German reserves are now being whittled away all along the line; there is nothing to take their place, what with the increased tempo of advances on the eastern and southern fronts. Once they are broken through, pursuit and "the dividend of victory" will follow quickly.

FDR, PAC, and the Midwest

BY I. F. STONE

Chicago, September 21

SEEN from a plane, the land between the Ohio and the Mississippi, and Lakes Michigan and Erie, is a neat checkerboard of black earth and green fields, the pattern marred from one horizon to the next by a succession of small towns, here and there the Lilliputian towers of a few great cities. From Youngstown to Gary, this is the domain of steel, and at night one can see furnaces and slag heaps burning in the distance like lonely miniature hells. Below one is the countryside that produced Lincoln, Altgeld, and Debs; Rockefeller, Ford, and Girdler; Harding, Cox, and Bricker. Its atmosphere is a shade more democratic than the Eastern seaboard; its class conflicts are sharper. From it sprang the giant young unions in automobiles, steel, and rubber, and also America First. Its most influential paper is the Chicago *Tribune,* but this Midwestern area we think of as typically American is fully as polyglot as New York. Its people talk all the dialects and tongues, from Cornwall, which supplied many of the miners who dig Upper Michigan's ore, to Syria, whose folk are no inconsiderable factor in Detroit local politics.

This section of the Midwest is a land of snug farms and self-reliant farmers, of small-minded small towns and cities of cosmopolitan culture. Its politicians are uniformly mediocre; its capitalists, extraordinarily capable and often brilliant; its workers, well-organized and militant. Predominantly Republican in the past, this area would seem, by quick guess, headed back to the fold this year, but the party's leaders and financial angels are worried. A Presidential election in war time provides more than the usual number of imponderables; Dewey's speeches are cool and competent but leave no wake of throats hoarse from cheering; there is fear of the Old Maestro's magic. In Detroit the business men are shelling out as usual, but in Cleveland and Chicago the anti-New Deal zealots are having trouble collecting. On the form sheets it looks as if Roosevelt should lose Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, but politics is less scientific than horse-racing. There are two big unknowns. The first, as Republicans admit privately, is the effect of Roosevelt's scheduled radio addresses. The second is the extent to which the C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee can get the workers registered and to the polls. Organized labor in three crucial counties—Cuyahoga (Cleveland), Cook (Chicago), and Wayne (Detroit)—has sufficient numbers to outweigh the rising anti-New Deal tide on the farms and in the small towns. If labor turns out in force, it can deliver the seventy-two electoral votes of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan to President Roosevelt and insure his reelection. It all depends on F. D. R. and the P. A. C.

I found my ten-day pre-election Cook's tour of Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan a chastening experience. I can claim no sensational discoveries, but I bring back a wholesome truism. The U. S. A. looks a lot different from Chillicothe than it does from Washington. Washington is concerned with the problems of government, Chillicothe with the problem of making a living. As long as this is solved, however temporarily, with a fair amount of satisfaction, Chillicothe isn't too interested in anything else, politics becomes a side issue, and party affiliation reverts to habit. We left-of-center journalistic kibitzers live in a world far removed from the common man whose century we proclaim, and ordinarily have as little contact with him as an eighteenth-century salon liberal with the peasant he idealized and championed. In Washington, where we tend to think in terms of abstractions and ideal programs rather than in terms of political realities, F. D. R. more often than not seems an exasperating fumbler and compromiser. But when you get out to the Middle West and begin looking at the country, county by county, politician by politician, bartender by bartender, you realize it's a miracle the President has been able to accomplish as much as he has.

Political pulse-feeling is tricky business, and the reporter engaging in it had best remember the blind man and the elephant and be wary. As one tries to check on popular feeling, one begins to understand why intellectuals are almost always dubs at politics. The irrelevant,

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the immaterial, and the inconsequential play far more part than fact or logic in determining individual judgment, and one good homely saw like the danger of changing horses in midstream—it has the Republicans worried—is more effective than a whole campaign handbook of reasonable argument. The task of discovering why any one particular county or ward votes Republican or Democratic is often difficult and always fascinating. Since political affiliation is so largely a matter of habit and inertia, except in periods of crisis, the reasons for the politics of any area usually lie in the past, that is, in some past crisis deep enough to establish political patterns for years to come. The Republicanism of the Midwest is the heritage of the struggle over slavery, and the vestigial Democratic rural areas in Illinois and Ohio seem to lie principally along the rivers, which provided access to the early settlers from the South and Southeast; but often I found experienced politicians unable to explain just why their districts happened to be Republican or Democratic. There is a kind of geology of politics in which the investigator uncovers one buried stratum of party affiliation after another, some the relics of major political convulsions, others the result of a petty local feud or an outstanding personality's influence. The personality may range from an astute saloonkeeper's to a glamorous President's. These determining factors, many of them trivial, are quite different from the economic and social issues that concern us in Washington.

It is a little surprising to find the extent to which racial groups and national origins play a part in the election returns in this area, and in this the area can hardly be exceptional. I hate to generalize about this, for exceptions are many and obvious. I am not relying on my own necessarily random and fleeting observations but solely on what I was told by practical politicians in the three states I visited. It is not the Irish alone who are attached to "the old sod." By far the largest group of the foreign-born in Detroit are the English and Canadians; their votes went to Roosevelt in 1940, and most of them will go to him again in 1944. There are large communities of Dutch origin in rural Michigan; they go back to 1846, when many left Holland because of differences with the Established Church; Vandenberg is of this stock. It was predominantly isolationist—until Hitler invaded Holland, and there will be votes there for Roosevelt this year that are normally Republican. The Irish are, of course, an old story. I talked to an Irish Democratic politician, with an Irish name, who failed to carry a Chicago ward normally solidly Democratic. It turned temporarily Republican in the First World War and has again in this one. "They still want to fight Cromwell, not Hitler," was the politician's comment.

It is not always possible to disentangle factors of national origin from those of economic class. The Poles make up the largest group of the foreign-born in Michigan, rank with the Germans in Illinois, and are the third largest group after the Germans and Italians in Ohio. Americans of Polish origin have been strongly pro-Roosevelt in the past, and not in Cleveland, Chicago, or Detroit could I find anyone who thought they would vote differently this time, despite their admittedly deep feeling over the Polish boundary question. But the Poles are pro-Roosevelt not because they are Poles but because they are of the working class, many in the lower-paid strata. Hamtramck, the city within the city of Detroit, is solidly Polish and solidly proletarian, and probably returns the largest pro-Roosevelt majorities of any Northern city. Similarly, most of the Jewish vote will go to Roosevelt, but a Jewish Democratic politician with whom I spoke said he found a considerable gravitation toward Dewey among wealthy Jewish business men.

The normally Democratic German vote in the Midwestern states is expected to go against Roosevelt this year. An extreme example in this sector is provided by the tier of Ohio counties along the Indiana border, normally Democratic. They turned against Wilson in the First World War and are today a stronghold of the Coughlin–G. L. K. Smith following. Smith's running mate, Romer, is from one of these largely German and Catholic counties, which include some of the richest farm land in Ohio and are ardently opposed to the New Deal. Germans are the largest single group of foreign-born in Ohio and the second largest in Michigan; they provide a strong isolationist and anti-Roosevelt factor throughout the Middle West. In Detroit the Nazis were powerfully intrenched in the German American community. Cincinnati, the second largest industrial city in Ohio and probably the only city Roosevelt will not carry, is put in the Dewey camp by Ohio politicians for two reasons. It is a center of the open-shop machine-tool industry, and it has a large population of German origin. In this connection, it is only fair to note that Democratic politicians with whom I spoke in Ohio estimated that Dewey lost from 10,000 to 15,000 votes in that state by his slap at Gerald L. K. Smith.

I am sorry to talk in racial terms, and I know that they do an injustice to many Americans of German origin, but I must honestly report that Midwestern politicians find them valid enough for the rough-and-ready calculations of practical politics. Certainly, enough people in each of these groups are influenced by considerations of this kind to affect a close election. These factors will all play their part. The principal and decisive division, however, is between the rural areas and the cities, between farmers and business men on the one hand and workers on the other. The latter have numbers in their favor. Whether they can translate them into victory is a question I should like to examine in a second letter from the Midwest.

[Mr. Stone's "second letter" will appear next week.]

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China in Crisis

BY BETTY GRAHAM

MILITARY developments shaping up in the Far East may very possibly cause the Allied leaders to revise their fundamental plan of campaign against Japan. This new crisis is highlighted by the rapid Japanese thrust into Kwangsi Province, but much broader issues are involved than the loss of the Kweilin air headquarters or the bisection of China.

Japan is only 400 miles short of establishing an overland escape route for its armies scattered throughout Southeast Asia—in Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, and the Malay Peninsula as well as in the adjoining Indonesian islands. These southern troops, at present supplied entirely by ship, are now perilously near to being cut off from their homeland.

Once the Allies establish bases in the Philippine Islands and once the bulk of their European fleet moves to the Pacific, they will be in a position to throw a tight blockade across the South China Sea. This body of water lying between the Philippines and China is already the only relatively safe shipping channel left to Japan's dwindling merchant fleet. But Japan is now experiencing serious difficulty in keeping its southern troops efficiently equipped. After a few months it may be virtually impossible even to evacuate these forces—unless an overland escape route is opened.

Japan already holds both ends of a transportation network stretching from Singapore on the southernmost tip of the Asiatic continent, or Rangoon at the western extremity of Japanese expansion, across the Asiatic continent to Fusan at the eastern end of the Korean Peninsula, which juts out from Manchuria toward the islands of Japan proper. During the past year Japan's main military activity was directed toward knitting these ends together where they converge in China.

Complete achievement of this objective is already in sight in Kwangsi Province, the last gap in the 4,400-mile escape route. This fact is giving Allied leaders real concern, and it seems safe to speculate that it provided a major subject of conversation at Quebec. For if Japan's armies on the Asiatic mainland become fluid, if Japan can concentrate its forces for a last stand on ground of its own choosing—whether in China, Manchuria, or Japan itself—the Allies may be forced to change their entire strategy in the Far East.

Just why is it that the Chinese troops are not expected to be able to prevent the imminent junction of Japanese forces moving down through Central China with those in Indo-China? Why are current dispatches from China so pessimistic about the possibility of holding Kweilin, or Liuchow farther south, which is at the junction of an excellent highway running up from the Indo-China border with a railway coming down from the north? The answer to this question lies in the progressively quickening rate of disintegration within the Chinese military organization. This fact is a source of Allied alarm, and we can be sure that Major General Patrick J. Hurley, President Roosevelt's personal military adviser, is giving the matter full attention during his current visit in China.

The disintegration of China's armies can be explained only partially by lack of military equipment, though this is Chungking's official excuse. Lack of equipment is certainly an important factor in the current demoralization that is creating record desertion rates in the Chinese army. But even on this score, the Allies are not the sole culprits, as some well-meaning writers would have us believe. For instance, at the time of Pearl Harbor American military officials surveyed Free China's armament industry and estimated that Chungking could keep its armies quite adequately supplied with small arms and ammunition. By the first of this year fourteen of eighteen iron foundries in Chungking had closed down; one out of every four steel plants set up in war-time China was idle. The reason for this goes back primarily to the Chungking government's economic policies, which have continued to favor the wealthy landlords even at the expense of the industrialists—but that is another story too long to recount here. It is sufficient to note that the problem is so important to our war effort that Donald M. Nelson, an authority on war-time industrial economy, hurried to Chungking with General Hurley.

China's army staff has always been split into cliques, held together mainly by a common devotion to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Now Chiang's popularity is perceptibly waning. Since the first of this year he has lost the support of two of his top-ranking generals, both once listed among his most ardent adherents; he has uncovered one widespread plot among his younger officers; and he has lost his second largest group army, consisting of six reputedly strong armies under General Tang En-po, which simply evaporated last spring in the path of the Japanese drive into Honan.

These three developments have been so muffled in censorship that it is difficult to evaluate their seriousness. However, General Pai Chung-hsi, Deputy Chief of Staff under the Minister of War, and General Chen Cheng, frequently termed China's ablest military leader and once

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looked upon as Chiang's chosen successor, have both taken themselves off to the sidelines. Both are said to be angered by the policies of the Minister of War, General Ho Ying-chin, who is one of the most reactionary and pro-Japanese officials in Chungking. Both are also said to desire an end to the Communist blockade, so that China's full military strength can be loosed against Japan. However, their dissatisfaction on these two scores is undoubtedly coupled with disappointment in the Generalissimo, who has permitted such situations to develop. Whatever the reasons, General Pai left Chungking last winter and secluded himself in his home near Kweilin. General Chen relinquished his command of the Yunnan forces driving into northern Burma last spring just as the offensive was starting. Though his removal was explained on the usual grounds of "ill health," he has since been assigned to a lesser post in Chungking.

Last February Chungking's top militarists were thrown into a state of panic by the discovery of a plot formed by a young officers' clique. Later this plot was believed to be only a scheme devised by some military classmates to obtain more rapid advancement, not a planned revolt against the Generalissimo's authoritarian regime.

However, the evaporation of General Tang's armies in Honan cannot be minimized, for it indicates a corruption and demoralization among Chinese troops that may crop out elsewhere. During recent years General Tang's troops had been kept largely inactive in the central part of Honan Province, ready to support General Hu Tsung-nan's blockade against the Communists to the west or to move eastward into Anhwei Province to mop up Communist detachments. These forces were stationed in a tobacco-raising area, and in time the officers began investing in the tobacco industry to pad their inadequate salaries. As General Tang himself became known as one of the principal speculators, he could not prohibit the business enterprises of his subordinates. When Pearl Harbor put an end to tobacco imports, prices of Honan tobacco skyrocketed, and General Tang's officers became wealthy overnight. Naturally, when the Japanese invaded the region last spring in their drive to seize the entire length of the Peiping-Hankow railway, most officers thought only of removing their wealth to safer regions. The rate of desertions reached unprecedented heights, leaving General Tang with a skeleton force that offered only token resistance to the Japanese.

Chungking leaders realize that corruption is widespread in other Chinese armies that have remained inactive and stationary for years. It is almost impossible to foresee when the pattern set by General Tang's men may be repeated. And while the American retraining course may ultimately revitalize the Chinese army, it will take time to retrain and reequip from three to six million Chinese soldiers. The importance Chungking gives to this situation is indicated by a recent United Press story from China's capital. The dispatch quoted an official announcement that two battalion commanders were executed on September 6. The officers had fled before a Japanese attack, leaving one regimental commander in charge of the battlefield. Public announcement of army disciplinary action is almost unprecedented in Free China.

Even more unprecedented is the flood of criticism regarding China's military and economic condition which has poured out from Chungking in the past week. A few months ago such critics would have disappeared into a concentration camp. So it seems possible that Chiang Kai-shek has lifted the ban on popular criticism in order to lay the foundation for a substantial reorganization—a reorganization as desperately needed as increased Allied military aid if Chinese forces are to be revitalized in time to help in the defeat of Japan.

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT CUBA seem to have advanced one stage, in that the Spaniards have been asked to sell the islands for bonds. . . . The offer has been refused. Spain, it is said, will not negotiate for a sale as long as the insurrection lasts, and there thus only remains the alternative of getting her to make thorough political reforms in Cuba or beating her out of the island.—*September 2, 1869.*

IT IS NOT TOO MUCH TO SAY that there is no power in the government, in the parties, or the church, that can influence the press as effectually as the financial class do by means of their advertising patronage. Far be it from us to assert that the financial classes, as a rule, seek to corrupt the press; still less that the press, as a rule, is venal; but undoubtedly the system of financial advertising has been developed to a degree of perfection that almost destroys the dividing line between a business bargain and downright bribery.—*September 2, 1869.*

THE STATE OF THINGS in Ireland grows highly interesting. The disestablishment of the church has, as was expected, been succeeded by a renewed, and what promises to be a very vigorous, agitation about the land tenures; and this agitation, we regret to say, derives a good deal of its power from what may be called dropping murders of landlords all over the country, even in districts in which such murders have been hitherto unknown; and it has been stimulated, too, by some very cruel evictions.—*September 9, 1869.*

THE PREPARATIONS IN THE STATE for the fall elections are tolerably lively. Frequent meetings of the two Gangs in this city have been held with a view to reunion; but then the combination, if they succeed, will be mechanical merely, and not chemical; that is, nothing new will result from it. The two Gangs united will simply form one big Gang, with the same aims, processes, and probably increased powers of mischief.—*September 23, 1869.*

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What About the Peace?

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

GOVERNOR DEWEY and his followers would have us believe that the main issues of the 1944 Presidential campaign are such intangibles as bureaucracy, one-man rule, economic freedom, the "defeatism of the New Deal"—and Sidney Hillman. The Democrats are placing their chief dependence on the President's war record, with subsidiary emphasis on the social and economic achievements of the Roosevelt Administration. So far neither party has come to grips with the question which most closely affects the future of the American people—how to make a peace that will stick. Mr. Dewey has tried to befog the issue by implying that peace is above partisan politics, and the President has done little more than stand on his record.

Many honest independent voters are frankly confused on this most vital of all issues. They know fairly well what a vote for Mr. Roosevelt means in terms of the future role of the United States in preserving peace and prosperity; his nearly twelve years in office have made Mr. Roosevelt's strong points and weak points clearly apparent. They may reasonably assume that if he is re-elected, his basic policies will have the same direction as in the past and will reflect the same strengths and weaknesses. But a vote for Mr. Dewey has no such precise meaning. Dewey has no record whatever in the handling of foreign affairs. Voters who want to know how he would deal with the problems of the peace can only go by such things as his various statements on foreign policy since he has aspired to the Republican nomination, the Republican record in Congress on foreign affairs, and the attitudes of his associates, particularly the views of John Foster Dulles, who is prominently mentioned as Mr. Dewey's choice for Secretary of State.

Friends of Mr. Roosevelt picture him as a clear-eyed prophet who saw World War II coming long before most of his fellow-countrymen and took decisive action to assure victory. Some of his enemies go so far as to call it the Roosevelt War, charging him with fomenting it in order to keep himself in office. A careful study of the President's record reveals little justification for either of these extreme views.

Mr. Roosevelt's supporters might better admit that, as any other man would have done, he made many blunders at first because of inexperience. When he was inaugurated on March 4, 1933, the chain of events leading up to World War II had already begun. Japan had seized Manchuria and Jehol and was threatening the great cities of Peiping and Tientsin in North China. The League of Nations had proved its ineptitude in the face of Japan's unprovoked aggression. Adolf Hitler had risen to power in Germany partly through his unbridled denunciation of the peace treaty which had terminated World War I. Benito Mussolini was already casting covetous eyes on Ethiopia. If Mr. Roosevelt was aware, during his first term, of the rising tide of war, he did not reveal it by either word or action. Reading the back files of *The Nation*, I find an editorial in the issue of March 8, 1933, urging the President, as "his first official act," to declare an embargo against Japan. Needless to say, this was not done. Mr. Roosevelt's inexperience led him to make another serious blunder in his first important venture into the field of foreign policy—his famous message to the London Economic Conference refusing to participate in a worldwide arrangement for the stabilization of currencies. Even two years later, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, Mr. Roosevelt seemed unaware of the need for international cooperation to stave off disaster. The League's sanctions against Italy were hamstrung by the unwillingness of the American government to cooperate in imposing an oil embargo. And the President signed, without any apparent misgivings, the first version of the neutrality act, which was interpreted by potential aggressors throughout the world as assuring a "hands-off" policy on the part of the United States. A little later, after the outbreak of the war in Spain, Congress, upon the State Department's urging, placed an embargo on the export of munitions to Spain—even though this action clearly favored German-Italian intervention in the Spanish conflict.

Early in his second term, however, Mr. Roosevelt began to show an awareness of what was really happening. His "quarantine the aggressors" speech, delivered at Chicago on October 5, 1937, was studded with phrases such as "the present reign of terror" and "the foundations of civilization are threatened." In this speech he pledged the United States to a "concerted effort" to preserve the peace. In view of Mr. Roosevelt's war-time record of close cooperation with Great Britain, China, and Russia, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of these words. If his Administration delayed abrogation of the trade treaty with Japan until July, 1939, and failed to bring about a revision of the neutrality act until after the outbreak of war in Europe, the blame must be placed primarily on Congress. During the four crucial years culminating in the attack on Pearl Harbor, the President's efforts to restrain aggression were con-

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sistently balked by an intransigent isolationist faction in Congress—a faction that was composed predominantly, but by no means exclusively, of Republicans. This clique backed the adoption of the so-called neutrality act, which forbade American aid to the democracies in the event of aggression in Europe or Asia. It frustrated the Administration's efforts to fortify Wake and Guam, and in other ways imperiled American defenses. Many of the most constructive moves made during the pre-Pearl Harbor period were carried out by Executive action without awaiting Congressional sanction. These include the destroyers-for-bases deal in September, 1940, and the orders to the American navy in 1941 to protect our shipments to Britain.

On the debit side, it must be admitted that Mr. Roosevelt still seemed unable to grasp the political character of the world struggle between fascism and democracy. Although he doubtless sympathized with Republican Spain, he never appeared to regard the Spanish war, as the Axis did, as a test of the unity, strength, and will to survive of the democratic states. Along with Britain, the United States continued to appease Fascist Italy until the day of its "stab in the back" against France. The collaborationist regime at Vichy was recognized until the invasion of North Africa, and the subsequent dealings with Darlan and Giraud in French Africa and with Badoglio in Italy have cost America millions of friends throughout Europe.

If Mr. Roosevelt is reelected, we can assume, on the basis of this record and the peace plans now being drawn up at Dumbarton Oaks, that a realistic basis of cooperation among the United States, Britain, and Russia will be worked out and maintained. There will be no undue leniency for the war-makers of Germany and Japan. But our government may continue to prefer to deal with the "safe and sane" elements in the smaller countries rather than with the groups that are seeking to throw off the shackles of political and economic reaction along with the Nazi yoke.

Some critics of President Roosevelt's foreign policies have indicated that they intend to vote for Mr. Dewey on the ground that he could do no worse and might do much better. They point to his Louisville speech to prove that Mr. Dewey is just as sincere an internationalist as the President, and insist that he would avoid the blunders that have marred Mr. Roosevelt's record. But before rushing off to vote for Mr. Dewey because of President Roosevelt's mistakes, it might be well to see if there is any reason for believing that New York's governor—with no experience and apparently little interest in foreign affairs—can be relied on to do a better job in the critical days ahead. If Mr. Roosevelt's greatest weakness lies in his failure to grasp the political implications of the rising democratic tide throughout the world, what can be said of Mr. Dewey's insight? The Republican candidate is almost twenty years younger than Mr. Roosevelt. Most of his mature life has been lived in the period when the Axis powers were preparing and carrying out their aggression against the democratic way of life and the international security system developed after the last war. If Mr. Dewey was aware at any time during the tragic 1930's of the threat of this Axis revolt to American security, or to world democracy, he never said so publicly, nor did he provide the slightest leadership to any attempts to awaken the country to its peril.

Mr. Dewey's infrequent utterances on international affairs are characterized by an amazing lack of consistency. In his Louisville speech he sought to cover up his inexperience by giving the impression that he stands for the same things as Mr. Roosevelt. Yet as recently as last February he declared that a Roosevelt peace would mean "a repetition of the same catastrophe which happened in 1919." This is not the first time that Mr. Dewey has reversed himself on foreign policy. When the Lend-Lease bill was first introduced into Congress in a desperate effort to save Britain, Dewey denounced it as "an attempt to abolish free government in the United States." Two years later, at the time of the Mackinac Island conference, he went to the other extreme and advocated a military alliance with Great Britain. When it became apparent that this idea was not acceptable to Mr. McCormick and the isolationist wing of the Republican Party, it was quickly dropped.

It is generally agreed that prospects for peace or war during the next generation depend primarily upon effective cooperation among the United States, Great Britain, and Russia. This cooperation has been developed to a remarkable degree under the pressure of war. But high statesmanship will be required to maintain it once the pressure is removed. It is essential that the man who is chosen President in 1944 be capable of working in harmony with the leaders of our two chief allies. Mr. Roosevelt has demonstrated his capacities in this direction in his many meetings with Prime Minister Churchill and at the Teheran conference with Marshal Stalin. Could Dewey do as well?

Apart from his inexperience and rather smart-aleck attitude toward such large problems as those of military strategy, Mr. Dewey presumably could work amicably with Great Britain. Far more crucial in the years immediately ahead, however, will be our relations with Soviet Russia. We know that Mr. Roosevelt can work with Stalin. What are his opponent's chances?

Mr. Dewey has already provided the answer. His general attitude toward the Soviet Union was clearly expressed in one of his earliest statements on international affairs. In a speech delivered before the Women's National Republican Club on January 20, 1940—when he was still hoping to win the 1940 nomination—he denounced President Roosevelt's "most unfortunate" action

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in recognizing Russia in 1933. He declared that the Soviets had obtained recognition from other countries by trickery and had similarly hoodwinked the "gullible" New Dealers. He described the Soviet regime as "a perversion of government, abhorrent to the conscience of mankind." Not satisfied with name-calling, he proceeded to charge Russia with having "surreptitiously" seized large areas of China while that unhappy country was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Japan. Incidentally, Mr. Dewey had not a single word to say in condemnation of Germany or the Nazi regime. In recent months Mr. Dewey has been much more careful in his public statements on Russia. Only a few months ago, however, in a private "off-the-record" conference, he is reported to have described the Russian leaders as a bunch of Communists with whom we could never deal.

Next to preserving workable relations with Britain and the Soviet Union, the most important task facing the next Administration will be that of world economic reconstruction, involving the stabilization of currencies, the stimulation of trade, and the development of backward areas. Mr. Dewey's only mention of this vast undertaking has been his jibe at "Washington wasters," whom he accused of trying to buy good-will abroad with the contents of American pocket-books and aiming to set up an international WPA.

Perhaps in view of Mr. Dewey's lack of interest in world affairs, it is unwise to attach too great significance to his remarks. Their conflicting character makes it obvious that he is unlikely to provide leadership in foreign policy even if elected President. Mr. Dewey is above all a party regular, and his foreign policies will be determined by the Republican Party leadership. Fortunately for the voters, the Republican record is an open book for all to read. During the crucial period when England was standing alone against the Axis, an overwhelming majority of the Republicans in Congress opposed the President on a series of vital measures, including modification of the neutrality act, lend-lease, extension of the draft act, and the lifting of the ban on the arming of merchant ships. Republicans like Henry Stimson, Frank Knox, and Wendell Willkie, who were as vigorous and sincere as the President in opposing aggression, were virtually read out of the party for their views. The Republican leadership in Congress has passed into the hands of Senator Taft, whose isolationist record is surpassed only by that of extremists like Hiram Johnson and Gerald P. Nye. It is significant that Mr. Dewey has not repudiated the efforts of another Republican leader, Senator Vandenberg, to emasculate the Dumbarton Oaks proposals by subjecting actions of the world organization to veto by Congress.

Against this, friends of the Republican candidate insist that John Foster Dulles, Dewey's chief adviser on foreign affairs, has a good record as a supporter of the League of Nations in its earlier days and as a leader in drafting a strongly internationalist post-war program for the Federal Council of Churches. This is true. But when the stakes were highest, Mr. Dulles's judgment—or courage—failed him completely. In 1939, a few days after Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia, he declared that "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war upon us."

Inasmuch as very little is known about the real views and capabilities of Thomas E. Dewey, there is, of course, a remote chance that he might free himself from party domination and display an unrevealed capacity for constructive leadership once the campaign is completed. But Dewey's persistent dodging of the basic issues of the campaign, his incapacity for developing constructive criticism of the President's foreign policy, and his failure to see the intimate connection between the well-being of other peoples and that of the American people suggest that inexperience is perhaps the least of Mr. Dewey's grave limitations.

[*This is the first article of a series on the chief issues of the election. The second—on full employment—will appear in two weeks.*]

In the Wind

A BROCHURE soliciting subscriptions to *Industrial Relations,* "a magazine for employers," contains this summary of a forthcoming article on Plant Protection: "Indications are that we are in for a wave of strikes and labor trouble when 'down-grading' and layoffs begin—how others are preparing by building strong plant police and protection systems—use of women in policing plants and how to train them."

CAPTAIN MARVEL, a comic-strip hero of the Superman variety, finishes his war missions this month, and next month begins an assignment on the "International Police Force."

HAVE YOU SEEN those street-car posters advertising a sunburn lotion, illustrated by a Varga girl of the type that got *Esquire* into trouble with the Post Office? If you haven't there's a reason. *Tide,* an advertising trade magazine, reports that delighted male citizens throughout the land have been tearing down the posters and taking them home. The advertising agency is having serious difficulty in keeping up with the depredations, and the lotion is selling in great volume.

A CURIOSITY SHOP in New York offers Landon-for-President buttons for sale. A friend of ours has been wearing one around town for a week, but nobody has noticed it yet. We find that fact very disturbing.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Nazi press in Denmark recently quoted with approval the British military commentator Liddell Hart's aphorism, made during the Blitz, "The defensive is the best offensive."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 is awarded each month for the best item.*]

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The Russians Think of Home

BY ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Moscow, September 8

WHILE the Red Army has been plunging through one Balkan frontier after another to make junction with the Yugoslavs, Italians, French, British, and Americans in one great South European front, the thoughts of the Soviet people have turned ever more insistently to the reconstruction of their war-shattered land.

It is a striking fact that during the short, four-day war with Bulgaria that brought the Red Army to the borders of Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, cleared out the last Nazi bases on the Black Sea, and assured the Soviet Union the formal right to participate in Allied decisions concerning Bulgaria, four leading editorials in *Pravda* were devoted not to war but to home affairs. The "leaders" in *Pravda,* like American front-page headlines—but not like American editorials—always indicate the topics which the paper's direction (in this case, the Soviet government) considers most important and on which it wishes the nation's attention to be concentrated.

The day that war with Bulgaria was declared, a *Pravda* leader explained this step as necessary to clean out the Nazi strongholds. Thereafter Bulgaria, in fact the entire Balkan campaign, dropped out of the headlines. On the following day the leader was captioned, "Fight Labor Turnover and Absenteeism." On the next the editorials and nearly half the rest of the paper celebrated the first anniversary of the liberation of the Donetz basin with its valuable coal and steel.

A full-page letter to Stalin that had been signed by 710,000 people reported achievements in the Donbas during the year. It stated that the Germans had killed 279,000 inhabitants of the region during the occupation and deported 200,000 more to Germany. They had also burned villages, blown up blast furnaces and power plants, and flooded the mines. In the year since liberation the workers in the Donbas had reconstructed 858 industrial establishments, including 51 large mines, 8 blast furnaces, 34 open-hearth furnaces, 18 rolling mills, 49 coke batteries. They had also restored an impressive list of cultural institutions—libraries, museums, and schools. We must not assume that these "restored" enterprises and schools function like new ones. The people still live in dugouts and work under colossal hardships. But at any rate the schools are open and the factories run.

Pravda's next editorial leader summoned the nation to a great "socialist competition" in preparation for the November holidays. It stated that the August production of iron and steel was 25 to 35 per cent higher than that of the previous year but urged everyone to do still more. The Stalin automobile works in Moscow challenged the workers of the entire nation to increase production. The same number of *Pravda* devoted more space to Max Lerner's answer to Bullitt in the American newspaper *PM* than to Bulgaria, with which the war was now in its third day. All aspects of American public opinion are very important here.

On the following day the leader discussed the opening of the school year, especially the opening of trade schools which are preparing personnel replacements for industry and the railroads. A short item on the second page announced that the war with Bulgaria was over. The back-page weekly summary of the international situation noted that Finland, Bulgaria, and Rumania had all been forced out of the Nazi coalition and that the Anglo-American successes in France brought very near the day for the storming of Germany from all sides.

These four *Pravda* leaders—on the labor turnover, the Donetz reconstruction, the nation-wide socialist competition, and the opening of the schools—indicate accurately the major trends of Soviet thought in the final period of the present war. Somewhat the same phenomenon is observed in America, where reconversion discussions are the order of the day. Nobody here, however, worries about the difficulties of returning to peace-time activities but only about how soon they can get at it.

If you ask any Soviet citizen about the shape of the post-war world, he immediately answers in terms of whatever immediate reconstruction is nearest to his heart. In Siberia, for instance, I spent an afternoon with a group of sixteen-year-olds from the trade schools who are already working part-time in a factory; one youth had won a prize as a lathe hand. I asked these young folks what the post-war world would be like. The young lathe expert immediately replied, "I'll be studying music instead of making munitions."

I tried the same question on the assistant mayor of Krasnoyarsk, a Siberian city which has had a spectacular growth during the war years. The assistant mayor was a young woman who had advanced rapidly in her career and had just been elected assistant governor of a large province. After short references to nearby China and Allied victories in France, I posed to her also the problem of the post-war world. Her answer was quick and unhesitating: "We will have street cars in Krasnoyarsk. The people now walk miles to the factories."

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When I explained that my query related to post-war Europe and the world outside the Soviet borders, both the boy and the mayor apologetically replied that they were too busy and too ignorant of what the people of Europe wanted to be able to guess what they would decide. There was not the slightest indication that they even imagined their government might dictate the choices of people in other states.

These incidents, of course, are not conclusive, but they may somewhat reassure any Americans who fear that the Red Army may advance far beyond the Soviet borders and that the speed with which the Eastern European nations are making peace with Moscow presages far-reaching Soviet intervention in the post-war period. Undoubtedly the Soviet leaders intend to see that there shall be friendly states along the entire border. When this is secured, the tendency of the Soviet government will be to concentrate—perhaps even unduly, as America did for a century—on Soviet internal affairs. The Red Army soldiers are just as anxious to get home as the American G. I.'s are—possibly even more so, since they have been away longer.

Polls, Propaganda, Politics

The Negro Vote

THE Negro vote in eight Northern states whose electoral votes total 203—of a grand total of 531—is sufficient to push those states from one of the major party columns to the other. Race relations have therefore become an important campaign issue. That they are more important this year than they were in 1940 is shown by the much greater space now given to Negroes in politics by seven representative New York newspapers. In the ten days after the Democratic National Convention of 1940, which followed the Republican Convention, one paper devoted nine inches to two items about Negroes. The other six carried no Negro political news. This year in the same period five of the seven newspapers carried twenty-two items filling more than sixty-six column inches. Half of them were news stories, four were editorials, and seven were found in columns or features. No especially big Negro news broke in the period studied.

This column has polled a sample number of Negroes in Harlem, the biggest single Negro community in the North, to determine their voting intentions. The persons to be questioned were selected after a careful study of past voting records and local social conditions. Of 581 Negroes interviewed, 30 per cent had not yet decided whether to pull the Democratic or the Republican lever on Election Day. Of the others, 74 per cent intended to vote for Roosevelt and 26 per cent for Dewey. Of the 581 people polled, 82 per cent said they had voted Democratic in 1940, 18 per cent Republican; of those who told us they had already made up their minds, 78 per cent voted Democratic in 1940. Thus no marked defection from the Democratic ranks was discovered among Negroes who have decided how they will vote. However, almost twice as many 1940 Democrats as 1940 Republicans (27 against 14 per cent) have still to decide.

The indecision found among Negroes parallels the indecision found among Polish Americans, on which this column reported recently, and may be explained in the same way. In the first place, certain special issues have arisen—dissatisfaction with the Administration's race-relations policies, and the influence of Old Guard Southerners in the Democratic Party—which have made 1940 Negro Democrats think twice about how they will vote. And in the second place, people of depressed social and economic status make up their minds late in the campaign. The highest proportions of undecided voters were found in two groups: one consisted of Negroes who were born in the South and never went beyond grade school—they will be drawn in later by their environment; the other of Negroes who had completed high school or gone to college and who were in doubt about which party has most to offer to their race.

Much the largest amount of Republican sentiment was found among Negroes born in the South who never went beyond grade school and are now forty-five years of age or older. This is probably explained by the old Negro Republican tradition, reinforced by fresh memories of the deeds of Southern Democrats.

Most Negroes intend to vote for the party favored by most low-income voters. This reveals an interesting political paradox, for racial discrimination against Negroes is apparently strongest among low-income whites. During the Philadelphia transit workers' strike against the hiring of Negroes, Mr. D. C. Gilchrist and Miss R. Thompson made a special survey of white opinion, asking 600 persons, "Do you believe Negroes should be given jobs as operators of trolley cars and buses?" To determine the effect of income on white attitudes toward Negroes, they took two-fifths of their sample from persons on an upper income level and three-fifths from those on a lower. In both groups the majority were in favor of job equality for Negroes. But 40 per cent of the poorer people were against Negroes getting qualified jobs in the transportation system, while only 20 per cent of the more prosperous felt that way.

Experience in previous elections suggests that most of the people who hesitate now will vote the same way they did in 1940. There can be no doubt, however, that there are elements of strain in the Negro community which make one section of the vote unpredictable.

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IN EARLY ISSUES OF THE NATION

Two articles on Russia by PIERRE COT, former French Air Minister. M. Cot has spent the past ten months in Russia as special delegate of the French Provisional Government. He has traveled all over the country and has been in a better position to learn the inside facts about the Soviet Union than most other correspondents.

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Eisenhower in the Ruhr

BY ALBERT NORDEN

WHEN General Eisenhower takes Essen he will have broken the economic backbone of German imperialism regardless of how long the war may continue. For there is the center of German industry. From the country around Essen comes seven-tenths of Germany's coal. These coal deposits and the proximity of the Lorraine metal deposits, which until 1918 were largely in German hands, have led to the growth of a giant iron and steel industry. Half of Germany's blast furnaces, including the largest, two-thirds of its pig-iron and raw-steel production, and 80 of its 133 rolling mills are in Rhineland-Westphalia, in and around the Ruhr Valley. This section has no fewer than 3,854 plants for the manufacture of finished iron and steel products—more than half of all those in Germany.

Who owns this enormous wealth? The coal deposits of the Ruhr, with their estimated reserves of 55,000,000,000 tons, are controlled by eleven trusts. The two largest, the steel trust (Vereinigte Stahlwerke) and the Thyssen family firm, which are closely connected by personal relationships, control more than 850,000,000 square meters of coal fields. They are followed by the Flick firm with 550,000,000 square meters, Haniel with 470,000,000, Stinnes with 350,000,000, Krupp with 178,000,000, Hösch with 139,000,000, and Köckner with 123,000,000. These coal kings have formed powerful vertical corporations. They are the owners of the iron-and-steel works, the rolling mills and tube factories, the blast furnaces, and the bridge-building firms of the Rhine and the Ruhr. They control a large part of the shipyard industry. The German explosives industry is the joint domain of the steel trust and I. G. Farben. The two most important trusts in the German electrical-equipment industry, Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft and Siemens, are partially controlled by the giant Ruhr firms, especially the steel trust, Krupp, Flick, and Mannesmann.

These industrial czars of western Germany have been the support of German imperialism ever since, half a century ago, it entered, booted and spurred, on the world stage. For such important imperialistic organizations as the All-German League, the German Navy League, the Defense League, and the German Colonial Society they provided leadership, newspapers, and money. During the First World War, it was they who proclaimed the infamous intention to extend Germany's—meaning their own—domination to the Atlantic by taking over France, Belgium, and the Baltic states, and also to seize the Ukraine and Morocco.

Germany lost the First World War, but these men, its real rulers, were not disarmed. Steadily pursuing their aim as if nothing had happened, they formed a temporary alliance with the new republican regime, and with its cooperation built up forces whose first military success was the defeat of the progressive elements in Germany itself. When the bloody internal battles were over, and when Germany's industrial plant had been completely modernized—with American money—they were ready for the Second World War.

Adolf Hitler, having proved himself the most effective of all the reactionary demagogues, became the darling of the Ruhr millionaires. For every ton of coal they sold they gave fifty pfennigs to the Nazi Party. The "black Ruhr barons" in the *Herrenklub,* in the German Nationalist Party, and in the circle around Hindenburg determined to raise Hitler to power. They knew that he would push through a rearmament program that would give their steel mills, then running at only one-third of capacity, full employment, and that his aggressions would open up world markets for their coal and their machines. They wanted the First World War; they manufactured the second. They must not be given a chance to start a third.

The first and most obvious step to be taken to prevent another war is expropriation of the properties of the Ruhr magnates. But when this has been done, what then? Who shall take over the mammoth concerns? In international discussions of this question diverse proposals have come up. The most radical is to take the Ruhr away from Germany and make it a separate country, either controlled by an international mandate or closely tied to France. That would cut the claws of German imperialism, but it would also destroy the German economy. It would put the Reich in the impossible position of having to transform itself from an industrial to an agrarian country. Millions of industrial workers in the cities would be condemned to permanent unemployment—and economic anarchy would inevitably produce political disorder. Germany can exist, if necessary, without East Prussia; it cannot exist without the Ruhr.

Another proposal, which meets with the approval of certain circles in Wall Street, the London City, and the Comité des Forges, is for an international group of capitalists to take over a majority of the stock in the Ruhr enterprises. No doubt the German trusts, which under this arrangement could hope to keep a minority interest in the business, would welcome such a solution, but the

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people would be outraged by it. For the war of the democracies against the fascist states is not being fought for the purpose of placing the international cartels in a new and commanding position in the heart of Europe. To put the Ruhr under the control of a few cartel magnates who in their own countries have always been the worst enemies of progress would be to lay the basis for economic and political reaction in Germany.

There is a better solution, one that would promote democracy in Germany. Whether it will be adopted or not depends on whether General Eisenhower follows the principles of Marshal Foch or adopts others. In November, 1918, the revolutionary German soldiers and their leaders had seized all the ammunition depots in the country and all the bridges over the Rhine, and were disarming all the counter-revolutionary troops streaming back from France and Belgium. At that moment the Allied High Command stepped in. General Hirschauer appeared at Kehl, directly across the Rhine from Strasbourg, and announced, *"C'est bien entendu, plus de Soviets ni d'histoires de ce genre"*—"One thing is clear: no more Soviets or any monkey business of that sort."

Foch was so afraid of revolution that he refused to demand the immediate dissolution of the German General Staff, that citadel of imperialism. He permitted the regiments that remained loyal to the Kaiser to march back into Germany fully armed and in close formation. Under the leadership of the General Staff they stamped out the revolution and became the germ cells of Hitler's Wehrmacht. Two such unimpeachable witnesses as Clemenceau and Barthou agree that Marshal Foch permitted the German General Staff and the Ebert government to keep 5,000 machine-guns, "so they could turn them against the revolution."

When Sumner Welles tells us that the subsequent history of Germany and the world would have been different if there had been more Liebknechts ("The Time for Decision," page 16), we should not forget that Foch's policy led to the defeat and violent death of Liebknecht and tens of thousands of his followers. Foch's support of monopoly capital in the enemy's country took precedence over the military security of his own. Thus Germany's defeated imperialists were given their chance to prepare for a Second World War.

How the Allies tipped history's scales in favor of reaction has been shown by Colonel J. L. Hunt, the officer in charge of civil affairs with the American forces in Germany. In his official report on the occupation of the city and district of Coblenz by the Americans in 1919 he reveals quite frankly how the occupying forces propped up the shaky imperial authorities and lifted them when they fell:

> It was fortunate indeed for Germany that the plans of the independent wing of the Socialist Party were foiled. The counsel of moderation won the day, and most of the ex-imperial officers remained at their posts. In occupied territory *their retention was made a condition of the armistice.* . . . As a result, the armies of occupation had a thoroughly capable group of officials to carry out their orders and wishes. . . . In many cases our arrival was welcomed by the officials, who regarded our coming as being of great assistance in enforcing their authority, which had been weakened by the revolution (my italics).

In view of all the evidence, it must be admitted that the internal development of Germany, and hence the course of world history since 1918, would have been different had the Allies followed a different course.

Will the supreme commander in 1944 repeat the mistakes of the supreme commander in 1919? Or can he adopt other methods? For an answer, let us look briefly at the population of the province of Westphalia and the administrative district of Düsseldorf, which contain the coal and industrial region we have been discussing.

Of the 2,766,000 gainfully employed people in the province of Westphalia (total population 5,200,000), 61.6 per cent are industrial workers and 11.8 per cent white-collar employees. In the Düsseldorf administrative district (total population 4,165,000), 2,280,000 people are gainfully employed, of whom 63 per cent are industrial workers and 16.5 per cent white-collar employees. This social pattern has produced an interesting political pattern. Consider the last election in which it was still possible to vote for parties other than the Nazis. It took place on March 5, 1933, five weeks after Hitler came to power and one week after the burning of the Reichstag, in a period of unrestrained terrorism in which thousands of Social Democrats and Communists were killed, wounded, or arrested. The Social Democrats got 740,000 votes, the Communists 905,000, and the Catholic Center, which had great strength among anti-Nazi workers in this region, 1,395,000. The Nazis got 1,959,000 votes. Despite the fact that the polling-places were manned by Storm Troops, despite the fact that tens of thousands dared not go to the polls, despite the fact that both parties on the left had lost their leaders and their places on the ballot, the vote showed a large anti-Nazi majority—not counting the votes of the smaller non-Nazi parties. An election of shop stewards in 1934 showed such overwhelming anti-Nazi sentiment in the Ruhr mining area and the factories of western Germany that in 1935 these elections, which Hitler had promised would be held every year, were officially abolished.

First things come first. When Eisenhower has occupied the Ruhr, the Allies will face the task of increasing the region's coal, iron, and steel production to a maximum as support for their own war effort. The Rhenish–Westphalian industries can contribute so much to the final victory that military control over their operation will be

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a matter of course. But in order to bring them to maximum production, the Allied command will need the services of thousands of master workers and division foremen, and these of course will have to be people living in the region, that is, Germans. Everything will depend on choosing the right Germans—those who wish to see a democracy established after the fall of the Nazi regime. That Eisenhower will find tens of thousands of such Germans, men who have always been against Hitler, is shown by the election figures given above.

By their use in this capacity tried German anti-fascists would be prepared for taking over later, after the end of the war, the direction of mines and plants. For when the Allies decide that the hour has come to set up a democratic German government, this government will be obliged to nationalize the giant West German trusts. Only by such action can the basis of German fascism be destroyed.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

TODAY I shall simply set down a number of quotations from German and neutral sources which throw light on certain interesting questions about Germany. No comment is required.

HITLER'S ECLIPSE

Official circles in Berlin maintain complete silence concerning Hitler's activities and his changing places of residence. It is no exaggeration to say that questions about those subjects are considered suspect since the events of July 20. Rumor has it that Hitler is busying himself with Buddhist philosophy. It is also whispered that in the course of a violent discussion with his generals Germany's master suddenly exclaimed that he was abandoned by all and would retire to Berchtesgaden with his remaining faithful followers and kill himself, thus giving the world an example of German heroism. (*Tribune de Genève,* Switzerland, September 12.)

GERMAN "STIMMUNG" AS DESCRIBED BY THE NAZIS

The present situation is being regarded with concern in many places. We must not conceal the fact that there are people to whom confidence is completely alien. This type argues that the situation is grave. But if we lose the war, it will not be so bad, either, they say. Just remember 1918. We lost the war then, but a few years afterward we were again out of the mess. The Anglo-Americans will not leave us in the lurch. (*Der Angriff,* Berlin, September 8.)

Today many people are asking how we can win the war. After all the setbacks at the fronts and the treachery of former allies, it certainly is not easy to understand how this war can be won. We are shown by facts and figures that our Nazi faith cannot produce planes and weapons. But the Nazis with their faith conquered a superior internal enemy in 1933. (Deputy Gauleiter Richard Schaller, Siegen, Rhineland, August 30.)

NEUTRAL REPORTS ON GERMAN DEFEATISM

In all places and all circles the people look into the future with great uneasiness and abysmal pessimism. Defeatism is becoming more and more perceptible. Even among the Nazi leaders it is increasingly believed that the war is lost, and they openly admit Germany's defeat. More and more Nazis are preparing to "hibernate" during the temporary Allied occupation. They intend to "go underground" in various ways and may even try to organize something corresponding to the French *maquis.* It is said that considerable stores are hidden in the Bavarian Alps, whence these resistance groups could operate. (*Svenska Dagbladet,* Stockholm, September 7.)

One of the inscriptions seen on many German walls, particularly on the smoke-stained walls of ruins, is, "The people want peace!" Another says, "Occupation means quiet nights." A third that is widespread runs, "The party's defeat means the people's victory." Where do all these slogans originate? Are they spread by enemy agents, as the Gauleiters claim? If enemy agents are really responsible for this propaganda, they must have a good flair for public opinion. It is clear now that the Reich has lost this war too. Even party members have come to this conclusion, although they vow that "the Germans will die like heroes, with their guns in their hands." More reasonable persons point out that the only patriotic solution is to capitulate as promptly as possible. After all, they say, the heroic Finns did it; why should we be ashamed to follow their example? (*Basler Arbeiterzeitung,* Switzerland, September 8.)

DEFEATISM IN ACTION

The number of sick people absent from work has been increased considerably by the employment of women and older workers. But in addition to this, illness is a popular excuse for absenteeism. A definite lack of discipline exists which must be checked by vigorous measures. The cancelation of supplementary food rations is a particularly effective punishment. (*Deutsche Verkehrsnachrichten,* Berlin, September 7.)

We must overcome the same well-known obstacles, even now, in the process of remobilization. The philistine mentality, the egoism, the bureaucracy, the bourgeois laziness and intellectual indolence, which always blocked our way are now obstructing total mobilization for war. Subterfuges and reservations originate in these familiar weaknesses. Resisting them will strengthen us. (*Das Schwarze Korps,* Berlin, August 31.)

It is characteristic of the present situation in Germany that two days ago the German military attaché in Switzerland, Herr von Horn, met his wife and two children at the railroad station in Basel; he is taking them to Berne for a "visit"—taking them into safety. (*Basler Arbeiterzeitung,* Switzerland, September 7.)

In the region of Freiburg in Baden massacres of military deserters by S. S. troops are taking place daily. The deserters hide in the dense Black Forest region. (*Journal de Genève,* Switzerland, September 12.)

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BOOKS and the ARTS

A New Talent

THERE is no doubt that Jean Stafford, author of "Boston Adventure" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75), is a remarkable new talent. This is not to say that her first novel is a completely satisfying experience but that Miss Stafford brings to the writing of a novel an unusual native endowment; I would find it hard to name a book of recent years which, page for page or even sentence for sentence, was so lively and clever. By the light of any one of the incandescent moments of "Boston Adventure," it may turn out that the book as a whole is strangely disappointing, reminding us that in the final analysis no amount of skill as a writer substitutes for the total novelistic power. But for its manner, for the way in which it stands up to the literary job, Miss Stafford's novel unquestionably demands a place for itself in the best literary tradition.

The tradition which Miss Stafford has most lovingly studied is quickly apparent. Written in the commentative first person, half a re-creation of childhood and half an anatomy of "good" Boston society, Miss Stafford's novel scarcely hides the influence of Proust, and although often, in the chapters which deal with Boston, "Boston Adventure" might be criticized for being too obviously derivative, in its first half Miss Stafford has assimilated the lesson of the master to her own needs and personality; indeed, the early section of this book could be put forward as a telling argument against our modern tendency to disavow our literary heritage. Even the most original writer is bound, after all, to lean on tradition, and the test of a new novelist is not in how much he depends on the already established but in what model he chooses and what use he makes of it. When we say, unhappily, of certain modern novels that they have been influenced by Steinbeck, it is not the fact that *an* influence is at work that we regret, it is the fact that this influence is not of the best; and we do not dismiss the disciples of Hemingway simply because they are disciples but because, despite their good teacher, they are themselves second-rate. But Miss Stafford has chosen an excellent teacher and is herself a worthy pupil. For much of its way her novel, like a child in relation to its parents, asserts its individual vitality almost in the degree that it acknowledges its healthy connection with the past. The dignity and flexibility of manner that Miss Stafford appears to have learned in an apprenticeship to Proust is perhaps the most important single element in what we must now call her own literary gift.

We have been given many stories about miserable childhoods and many novels about poverty and sordidness, but the first half of "Boston Adventure," in which Miss Stafford describes the girlhood of her Sonie Marburg, is something quite new in awfulness. Sonie's father disappears, her mother is insane, her brother dies after a short life of Dostoevskian horror; virtually from babyhood Sonie is the financial and moral mainstay of her family. The meanness of Sonie's family life is so endemic and the girl's efficiency so precocious that they would seem to strain credulity; yet Miss Stafford not only convinces us that the Marburg world is possible but manages to give it a tragic grandeur. Neither the autobiographical taint to be found in novels even as good as those of James Farrell nor the note of self-pity and sentimentality which sounds such disturbing overtones to stories of distress like "A Tree Grows in Brooklyn" mars the first half of "Boston Adventure." But unfortunately, in the second section of the novel, where objectivity would seem easier of attainment than in the childhood portions, Miss Stafford loses her clean distance between author and narrator. At eighteen Sonie has been taken to live in the home of a Boston lady named Miss Pride, and with this shift in scene "Boston Adventure" breaks down into an alternation between a sharp-eyed but essentially not very meaningful or original social report and a highly subjective, almost hysterical self-study. At the same instant Sonie, who as a child was never too big for her little boots despite her precocity, suddenly steps into the large boots of Miss Stafford herself. I find Sonie's insight into the manners and morals of Beacon Hill as improbable for a girl of her age as the poise and finesse with which she accomplishes her feats of social adaptation would be unlikely for a girl of her background.

In other words, it is at the point where Miss Stafford's narrator approaches adulthood, but not until then, that "Boston Adventure" begins to identify narrator with author, and to suggest the autobiographical. The drama of childhood being exhausted, Miss Stafford seems unable to create a valid drama of maturity; instead, she is reduced, for the most part, to introspection—that inadequate literary substitute for drama. And this failure of the dramatic imagination at the point where the protagonist of a novel reaches maturity suggests the autobiographical because it is as if the author were to say, "Well, and so my childhood ended and here I am grown up. What more would you have happen to me than that I should become a thinking person, the person preparing to write this book?" The novel of development regularly reveals its author-hero relationship by this recourse to internality as the hero comes of age.

I say that Miss Stafford is unable to create a "valid" drama of maturity; I realize that she has tried to create, for the second half of her book, drama of a sort. There is a long episode centering in Miss Pride's niece; but this niece is, after all, only a secondary character in the novel, and Sonie, who engages our major interest, is never really involved in the niece's predicament. As a matter of fact, I think the mature Sonie's inability to become involved with people —by which I mean, of course, her author's inability ever truly to involve Sonie with people—finally keeps "Boston Adventure" from being the completely satisfying novel we expect it to be. Yet Miss Stafford has so much style and energy and intelligence in this first book of hers that one can be hopeful she will achieve, in her next books, this ultimate novelistic power. Even without it she is a new writer to be read, and applauded.

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Realpolitik and World Order

THE SUPER-POWERS: THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, AND THE SOVIET UNION—THEIR RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE. By William T. R. Fox. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

"THE vindication of the obvious," once observed Justice Holmes, "is sometimes more important than the elucidation of the obscure." Never has this been more true than now with respect to American thinking about international politics. What is here most obvious is most often forgotten: that war is a result of anarchy; that the only permanent cure for anarchy, and hence for war, is government; that the United Nations, by championing the "sovereign equality" of states, have rendered world government impossible in our time and insured the continuation of international anarchy. Under these conditions no new league or association of sovereignties can possibly maintain peace. The only hope for a period of peace lies in converting the anarchy into a concert of power rather than a conflict for power.

Dr. Fox's slim volume is by a wide margin the best brief exposition to date of the issue of winning the peace. It deserves wider reading than the contributions of Walter Lippmann and Sumner Welles, for it states the case with a more rigorous logic. Those who still have hope for Governor Dewey, after his assertion that a great-power alliance dominating the world would be "immoral," should pray that he will read it.

Fox's point of departure is the proposition that squirrels and elephants, as Samuel Grafton has pointed out, are not the same size. In 1939 London and Paris made war inevitable by refusing to conclude a workable alliance with Moscow on the ground that it would be immoral to guarantee the Baltic states and Poland so long as they refused to be guaranteed. In 1945 Washington may make more war inevitable either by refusing to commit American power to any common purpose or by insisting that the squirrels of the international community must have equality of power with the elephants. The truth, of course, is that most of the squirrels will be trampled to death if the elephants engage in a new race for individual security. The small and weak can live in safety and enjoy equality of rights only in a world in which the large and strong act together to organize safety on a basis of power. The facts of power will not be changed by verbiage. "To say that armed power is responsible for our present miseries," observes Fox, "is like saying that because the large intestine is a favorite breeding ground for many germs, it is the chief cause of disease. Health cannot be assured by removing the large intestine, nor can peace by legislating armed power out of existence."

While there may be a number of "great powers" in the old sense in the world of tomorrow, there will be only three "super-powers," with China as a potential but doubtful fourth. These will in cold fact dominate the world. All states of lesser rank are utterly helpless under contemporary conditions of warfare. The problem of world peace is the problem of whether the super-powers will exercise their dominion unitedly, wisely, and in the interests of all. If a joint dominion is disrupted through new rivalries or false solicitude for the powerless or some irresponsible formula of

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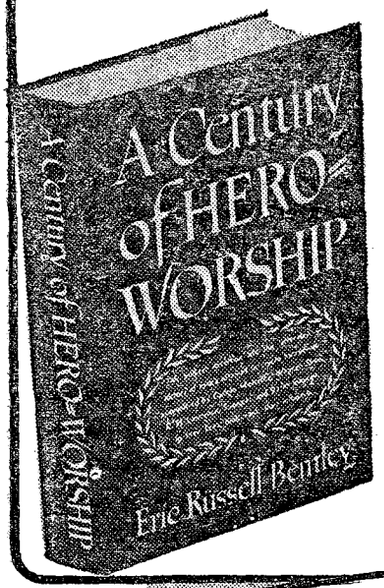

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"cooperation without commitments" (Governor Bricker), the result will be disastrous to all. Fox shrewdly evaluates what is necessary here, what is possible, and what is probable. His two chapters on Britain and America and his analysis of the Price of Collaboration and the Consequences of Non-Collaboration between the Western powers and the Soviet Union are quite the most lucid discussions thus far published of the most crucial aspects of the problem. His chapter on Germany pays insufficient attention to the social and economic prerequisites of a stable Reich in a stable Europe. The Far East as a common problem for the super-powers is here neglected, but for this there is partial compensation in other publications of the Yale Institute of International Studies, in which Fox is a research associate.

What is above all imperative is the inclusion of the United States in the security system foreshadowed in the Anglo-Soviet alliance. There is danger, as at Dumbarton Oaks, that the necessity of sharp and specific commitments may be obscured in the effort to establish a universal organization based on vague and general obligations. Such an organization is politically unnecessary if the super-powers act together. It will be unworkable if they do not. "It might perhaps be better," says Fox, "if the powers of the first rank developed strictly *inter se*, and therefore outside the general international organization, the procedure for arriving at joint decisions." A durable Grand Alliance among the powerful would be infinitely better than a feckless league of the impotent. To try to combine the two may prove more dangerous than to separate them. Americans have not yet decided which they want or whether they want either. This book should help them to a decision. It is not too much to say that acceptance of its central thesis is the *sine qua non* of a future world fit to live in.

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On His Way

LABOR LAWYER. By Louis Waldman. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

"LABOR LAWYER" is the story of an ex-Socialist who, while moving to the right, paused to set down his experiences. More than half of his book is devoted to politics, and it is clear that Mr. Waldman is not much of a political philosopher or even a keen observer of the political scene. His discussion of the split in the Socialist Party is not very perceptive.

The division was due to an influx of young people disillusioned, by the depression, with the status quo and inclined to be carried away by leftist jargon, and to the dissatisfaction with the dominance of New Yorkers in the top councils of the party. It is true that much of the high-faluting lingo of the militants resembled the shop talk of the Communists, but men like Norman Thomas, Dan Hoan, then mayor of Milwaukee, and Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr were among those anxious for internal reform. As the militants became more politically sophisticated, most of them became violent opponents of dictatorship and of Soviet Russia. Darlington Hoopes, an anti-totalitarian Socialist, is the party's candidate for Vice-President, and the conservative Mayor Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport has indorsed the Socialist ticket. A more adroit leader might have recognized the leftist jargon for what it was—"political baby talk."

Mr. Waldman's sections on the American Labor Party are mainly a discourse on the high-mindedness of Mr. Waldman. It seems that everyone has been out of step but Louie. The difficulties of the American Labor Party arose from its failure to win labor support beyond the needle trades and a few progressive unions. Perhaps the split in the labor movement was in part responsible. Another factor was the inability of the party to develop an outstanding individual around whom non-labor liberals and anti-Communist labor people could rally. The labor leaders who dominated the party had not the time, talent, or inclination for this task.

The author concludes with a warning which is little more than a rehash of the stale clichés of Frank Gannett's Constitutional Government League. Mr. Waldman tends to be a bit hysterical about the danger of an American popular front. A popular front is a joint endeavor of several autonomous political groups—usually liberals, Socialists, and Communists—to achieve one or several objectives. No such movement exists in the United States, despite the author's hallucinations. At present the Communist labor policy resembles closely the one sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers, and that is as much of a popular front as the one he describes.

Despite the pose adopted by the author, the book is full of innuendoes and the sly amalgams typical of the Communists whom the author detests but whose literary manners

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he copies. As the fruit of three decades of political activity we are given some mildly interesting chit-chat, few insights, and little information of value. PHILIP TAFT

Basic Rights

OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES. By Osmond K. Fraenkel. The Viking Press. $3.

IT IS natural that Mr. Fraenkel, who has been very active as a lawyer in defending civil liberties, should have written this book. The danger of the subversion of civil liberties is particularly great in periods of war and crisis, and his book, which has been written for the layman in simple and readable prose, is very timely. It is easy to get hot under the collar on issues of civil liberties, particularly these days, when our native Nazis are invoking the rights of free speech and press as a means of destroying democracy, but an outstanding quality of Mr. Fraenkel is his admirable objectivity, and one of his best chapters is devoted to a consideration of the question whether civil liberties should be denied to those who do not believe in them.

Mr. Fraenkel devotes, indeed, a number of chapters to the larger and more general aspects of civil liberties in our time, but his book in the main deals with the traditional constitutional liberties. He makes a happy divison of these liberties into the broad guaranties of free speech, press, religion, assembly, and petition and the guaranties against the abuses of the criminal procedure which consist of such provisions as those requiring indictment and trial by jury with the right to counsel, and those prohibiting unreasonable searches and seizures, compulsory self-incrimination, double jeopardy, excessive bail, and cruel and unusual punishments. The organization of his book is thus strongly reminiscent of Leon Whipple's "Our Ancient Liberties," which contained, however, more of the English historical background. But the civil liberties of one generation are not necessarily the same as those of the next generation, despite the fact that the language of the constitutional clauses remains unaltered, and there is ample justification for Mr. Fraenkel's book. The Supreme Court of the United States as now constituted has made a noteworthy record in its defense of civil liberties, and Mr. Fraenkel's book is in large part a chronicle of its pronouncements. The court is carrying on the noble Holmes tradition, and if its present members are usually less brilliantly epigrammatic they are often more usefully pragmatic. Still, I like Justice Jackson's dictum: "Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard."

In the realm of civil liberties the famous dictum of Aaron Burr that law is that which is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained is peculiarly applicable. Our civil liberties have in other centuries been called natural rights, or fundamental rights. Those were the periods when they were in process of becoming. Our written Constitution, which has enumerated the recognized civil liberties, has had a rather static effect upon the development of civil liberty, which depends less upon constitutional phrases than upon a public recognition of certain rights as basic. Some of the rights that come to be regarded as basic do not even appear in the lists of

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constitutional guaranties. Bills of rights are for the most part reactions against evils of the past rather than promises for the future. Mr. Fraenkel notes, for instance, that the constitutional right of petition is now virtually obsolete, although it is included in the Bill of Rights, and he notes also the inconveniences of such a procedure as indictment by a grand jury. But he could have dealt more effectively with the theme of the shifting kaleidoscope of civil liberties.

This inadequacy is reflected also in Mr. Fraenkel's treatment of the civil liberties which consist of the guaranties against the abuses of criminal procedure. The existence of a criminal code enumerating the punishable crimes is itself a basic civil liberty, quite apart from any question of content, and the emphasis in European democracies before the present holocaust was upon the substantive criminal law rather than upon criminal procedure, and the great constitutional slogan of *nulla poena sine lege*—"no punishment without a law." But this attitude, reflected also to some extent in American constitutional theory, has led to an insistence upon rigid prescriptions as to crime and punishment and hampered all efforts to deal with criminals in an intelligent manner, rendering abortive such devices as probation and parole and the indeterminate sentence. It may well be that modern scientific criminology in the present constitution of society would prove a grave threat to the preservation of civil liberties, but Mr. Fraenkel has not chosen to explore this problem.

Mr. Fraenkel argues in favor of free speech even for native fascists, on the ground that civil liberties are granted for the sake of society rather than for the sake of the individual. This theory seems to me in itself to have a totalitarian tinge, and as an old-fashioned liberal I should prefer to reverse the proposition and put the accent on the individual. In connection with the whole problem of fascist propaganda Mr. Fraenkel has, indeed, missed entirely an interesting development in recent years, which is represented by such legislation as the Foreign Agents Registration Act. This legislation has been based upon the theory that while it would not be wise to suppress totalitarian propaganda, it can be dealt with effectively by compelling the revelation of its sources.

I must note finally a few foibles of Mr. Fraenkel. I cannot subscribe to his dictum that "the judgment of a jury on what is objectionable should be preferred to that of bureaucrats." This may be an unwitting lapse into anti-New Deal propaganda. I wonder also why he speaks regularly of the Second World War in the past tense. Finally I would dispute his reference to Jeremy Bentham as a "lay reformer of the law." Jeremy, who was destined by his fond father for the woolsack, had the best legal education that could be bought in the eighteenth century. WILLIAM SEAGLE

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IN BRIEF

AKRITAN SONGS. By Anghelos Sikelianos. Greek Text and English Translation by Paul Nord. The Spap Company, New York. $2.

A SOLDIER'S DIARY. By Charles Norman. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.

PRIVATE PAPERS: POEMS OF AN ARMY YEAR. By William Justema. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $1.50.

AN AMERICAN IN SICILY. By Earl Davis. Margent Press, New York. $1.75.

The Greek poems, since they come from the Greek underground, have an interest which transcends their rhetoric; the price, however, seems a little excessive for a paper-bound book of thirty-odd pages, including the Greek text. Lieutenant Norman's brief lyrics, rather in the manner of Housman, are delicate and pleasant, not very memorable. Sergeant Justema, lately discharged, writes a tougher-fibered and more original running free verse. No hint is given as to the rating of Earl Davis: a brief prefatory note carries the date line University of Wichita, April, 1944. "An American in Sicily" reads like the account of a participant in the actions it describes: the blank verse is nothing startling from a technical point of view, but the technique of fighting has a professional ring. as told here, and the reflections of ideas and action make up a candid and engaging little book, unpretentious, to be sure, but lively, interesting, and at times really moving.

FILMS

IT IS a tremendous pleasure to see something done in American movies which you can be proud of—however foolish and suspect that sort of pride may be. I feel pride in and respect for everyone, from start to finish, who was involved in the shooting, cutting, writing, and speaking of the Marine Corps' and Warner Brothers' "The Battle for the Marianas"; I feel all the better because, coming after "Tarawa," "Memphis Belle," and "Attack," the picture so clearly proves that fine honest work can become a habit, and is not necessarily a result of the bitter attempt and the frustrated desire of scattered individuals. Key individuals, unquestionably, are in the long run responsible for the excellence of these films, and some of the most important of them, very likely, are not movie men at all but simply executives whose taste and decency and good sense make it possible. Such men are of course quite as indispensable as good craftsmen and good artists; I wish one might know their names and might thank them, both publicly and privately. "The Marianas" does not seem to me to have quite the clarity or force of "Tarawa"; and by now, inevitably, even a civilian watching combat films from a theater chair begins to feel some pinhead fraction of the fatigue which transforms soldiers. But I would recommend this picture highly if that were all I could say for it; and I could say a great deal more if there were room.

It is quite as great a pleasure, and a much more startling one, to see such a film as "Youth Runs Wild" coming out of a Hollywood studio—a far better piece of news than films like the much more resourceful, polished, and entertaining "Hail the Conquering Hero." Not even its faults are the Hollywood kind: it is gawky, diffuse, rather boyscoutish in its social attitudes (but it does have attitudes); often as not its characters go wooden (but they never turn into ivory-soap sculpture); too often the photography goes velvety (but always in earnestly striving for a real, not a false, atmosphere, and never striving for a sumptuous look). When the picture is good—and its over-all inadequacy flashes with good all through—you are seeing pretty nearly the only writing and acting and directing and photography in Hollywood which is at all concerned with what happens inside real and particular people among real and particular objects—not with how a generalized face can suggest a generalized emotion in a generalized light. As pleasing to watch as what these people do, both in front of and behind the camera, is the clearly very simple, earnest, and honorable attitude which they have toward their work. To watch most of them, you would hardly think they had ever heard of Hollywood, much less wanted to go there. For a fuller and more specific appraisal of "Youth Runs Wild" and its producer, Val Lewton, I can only recommend that you read Manny Farber's review in a recent issue of the *New Republic;* it would be senseless for me merely to repeat, in other words, what I so thoroughly agree with. Mr. Lewton may well run into hard times with his work if he develops much of a reputation, either popular or critical. So it is with mixed feelings that I realize, and write, that all over the country he must already have the respect and the hopeful wishes of everyone who cares two cents for what a moving picture is.

JAMES AGEE

Drama Note

"WHILE the Sun Shines," an English import (Lyceum Theater), is as full of tags as a cut-rate drugstore: the precious English lord; his childhood sweetheart and present fiancee, the untouched fresh-complexioned girl from Inverness whose hair is her crowning glory; his former mistress, a lady-about-town who in the end knows her place and gives up the lord; the crude but lovable American bombardier; the romantic Frenchman. Oh yes, and the lord's man, Horton. There is even a dowager grandmother who does not appear on stage but is duly invoked. The only character who isn't noticeably shopworn is the fiancee's father, a run-down duke with a passion for horse-racing. He is well brought out by Melville Cooper. The other members of the cast do their parts. The play itself is the shadow of a shadow of Sheridan as animated by George S. Kaufman. It's quite fast, and amusing enough while the footlights shine, but it would seem to indicate that the Drama in Great Britain has also reached the end of an era. Yours for the revolution.

M. M.

ART

AN EXHIBITION of some six hundred prints and blocks from the hand of José Guadaloupe Posada, with photostat enlargements of several of the prints, has just opened at the Brooklyn Museum, to run through October 15. Posada was one of the most original of the exponents of an indigenous popular art in post-Columbian North America; his prints are somewhat equivalent to those of Currier and Ives but far superior to them as art. His memory has received much attention lately, and his work much praise. Dying in 1913 at forty-one, he left behind more than twenty thousand wood and metal engravings and lithographs, not one of which seems negligible. Their crudeness of texture reinforces their effect, and that effect is macabre, humorous, and subversive. Their virtues as illustration are inextricably involved with the power of the design and draftsmanship which went into them. And Posada sensed as

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very few graphic artists ever have the potencies of black and white as sheer color above and beyond the context in which they act only as descriptions of line, mass, and space.

Still, all this ought not to be exaggerated. Posada's art was after all limited in its range. The same points are made again and again. The patterns in which the picture rectangle is organized are unerring yet repetitious—the center of gravity usually coinciding with the dead center of the page—and the grays, for all their strength, are always used in the same way. Nevertheless, the prints of this Mexican artist remain of almost inexhaustible interest.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

RECORDS

THE outstanding piece of music on Columbia's September list is Mozart's Quartet K.428 (Set 529; $4.50), one of the great group of six dedicated to Haydn—with an opening Allegro and a slow movement that are extraordinarily sombre and powerful, one of the loveliest of minuet movements in which humorous touches alternate with intense melancholy, and a mercurial finale. The Busch Quartet's performance is not outstanding, and lacks everything the music calls for: beauty of sound, fluency, finesse, grace, a feeling for correct pace (the minuet is slow to the point of being stodgy, the slow movement is too fast), an ability to maintain a chosen tempo (the slow movement gets faster than it starts). And the performance is recorded in a way that makes its sound—when reproduced by a wide-range phonograph—wooden, nasally distorted, and so coarse and harsh as to be hard on the ear. Limited-range equipment removes the harshness, but leaves the sound wooden and distorted.

Also on Columbia's list is a set (550; $5.50) offering a considerable part of the third act of Wagner's "Tristan und Isolde." Beginning with the Prelude, it skips the long English horn solo and Kurvenal's duet with the shepherd; then, resuming at Tristan's *Die alte Weise,* it continues—with the two cuts that are made at the Metropolitan, and apparently at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires—through the dying Tristan's *Isolde!* Some of the music I find wonderful; some of it I have always found difficult to listen to. The singers are Melchior and Janssen; the orchestra on eight sides is the Colón Orchestra under Kinsky, and on two sides the so-called Columbia Opera Orchestra under Leinsdorf. Janssen's voice still retains resonance and beauty; Melchior sings, as he has done for some time, with the husky remains of a voice; and he can get through much of the music with sheer volume and emotional intensity, but the strain it is for him to sing the quietly flowing *Wie sie selig* makes the listener's own throat ache. Perhaps competitive spirit will induce Victor to restore to its catalogue a record that it should never have withdrawn—11136, with a much younger Melchior singing *Wie sie selig* very beautifully, and with the orchestra heard more clearly than it is on these new Columbia records. The over-all recorded sound of the Columbia performance is good.

On a single disc (71605-D; $1) is Vaughan Williams's inconsequential Overture to Aristophanes's "The Wasps," well performed by Malcolm Sargent with the Hallé Orchestra. And dressed up in new albums are two older sets: Rimsky-Korsakov's "Scheherazade," well performed by Rodzinski with the Cleveland Orchestra, and excellently recorded (Set 398; $5.50); and Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite, in a mediocre performance by Stock with the Chicago Symphony that is very badly recorded (Set 395; $3.50).

The sharply perceptive young man whose observations have appeared in this column—most recently a couple of weeks ago—managed to find something to report on before he was shipped overseas. "Today," he wrote, "we were subjected to one of the official orientation films, 'The Battle of China.' In it Mussorgsky's 'Pictures at an Exhibition' took another beating. For the section devoted to the great migration of the Chinese, their industry and culture to the western provinces, some movie composer took the Ox-Cart section of Mussorgsky's work and made it do for the entire trek—some fifteen minutes of screen time. At the point where I thought it would surely sink beneath the weight of its inflated orchestration he added a chorus, Hollywood species! It sang words in some unspecified tongue, not English—first, for fully three repetitions, in 'Yo, heave ho' style, while we saw the boats being inched up the gorges by manpower; and then as a paean of triumph. This, I think, must be an ultimate of some sort: my wildest flight of imagination can't carry debasement much further."

As it happens I have just seen the documentary war film "Attack," in which passages from the last movement of Rachmaninov's D minor Piano Concerto are dubbed in every now and then without regard for the sense of the scenes, or for the incompatibility of the flashy rhetoric of the music with the sobriety and honesty of the film. This is sheer debasement of the film; but no less indignity is committed on "The Memphis Belle" by the especially composed music which intrudes on some of the sequences to draw attention to its meaningless "modern" ugliness. These two experiences have raised in my mind the questions that other experiences led me to ask in this column once before—whether music is essential to films; whether it should not be possible to use the pictures by themselves not only to convey the bare sense of any situation but to give this sense all the desired emotional heightening and impact; whether a documentary film at any rate should not include music only if the music happens to be part of the facts which the film presents. I am not contending that music should never be used in films, but only questioning the prevailing idea that it must always be used. I have witnessed effective use of music in films; but I also have had opportunities to observe the effectiveness of films without music; and "Attack" and "Memphis Belle," it seems to me, would speak powerfully by themselves—more powerfully this way than when they have to fight their way to our minds through trashy and ugly music.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

OF TRIESTE AND OTHER HEADACHES

Dear Sirs: "The speech which Count Sforza delivered in Rome last week"—I am quoting from The Shape of Things in *The Nation* of September 2—"was the first public declaration of Italy's foreign policy. . . . Sforza asks that Fiume be made 'one of the seats' of a superleague of nations. . . . Certainly, Yugoslavia is unlikely to accept such a solution to the problem of the Dalmatian coast. Yugoslavia wants not only Fiume but Zara, Istria, Gorizia, and also Trieste, which Sforza sees as an 'internationalized port.' . . . This last suggestion is a step forward from Sforza's attitude of some twenty years ago, and the Yugoslavs, if not the Italians, may be inclined to look favorably upon it. They will not hesitate to underline the necessity, which Sforza pointed out, of a Yugoslav federal union with Bulgaria. . . . This is the Mazzinian conception of Italian foreign policy. . . . It is encouraging to see it returning to life."

The reader might get confused somehow and infer from the context, twice unduly, (a) that "Fiume, Istria, Gorizia, and also Trieste" are on the Dalmatian coast; (b) that Mazzini placed those cities and territories in the Balkans and assigned them to the Slavs. The reader might also infer from the intonation and structure of the paragraph that the editorial writer of *The Nation* takes sides with Yugoslav nationalism, absenting himself awhile from the supranational and universal point of view, inherently American, which *The Nation* represents with exemplary loyalty. This point of view is upheld, I dare say irreprehensibly, in the Italian Manifesto published by a group of Italian exiles and Italian Americans, one of them this writer.

Zara in Dalmatia and Fiume in former Hungarian Croatia are Italian islands in an ethnic Slav sea. The criteria to be applied to them should differ both from those that must be applied to the compact Slav areas annexed by the Italy of 1920 and from those that must be held valid for Trieste, Gorizia, and that part of Istria which Wilson himself, a steadfast friend of Yugoslavia, was willing to recognize as Italian. Those territories build a continuum, in geography no less than in culture and sentiment, belonging unmistakably to the Italian national being. Minorities interspersed along the coast or gathered in more cohesive groups in the immediate hinterland cannot claim, in a world of good sense and justice, more than can be claimed by the Latin enclaves or "fossils" in the Slav national body to the east and northeast.

As a long-term planner I am all in favor of a unitary world state in which the present national colossi, inevitably monopolistic and warlike, will give way to a global federation of smaller units, flexibly articulated, with these frightful frontiers of blood and iron weakening into penciled contours as harmless as those within the United States. In a world so shaped there would be plenty of living space for countless city states or free communes, old and new: Fiume and Trieste, to be sure, but also Dubrovnik and Salonika, Hamburg and Bremen, perhaps Riga and Istanbul and Shanghai and—why not, if they so wish? —Venice and Genoa, Antwerp and Marseille, or even Glasgow and San Francisco. This, however, looks today like a dream we must intrust to later generations.

For this day and for short-term planning there seems to be no way out of the national set-up. In a world so shaped the imperialism of the smaller stocks—whether French reaching for the Rhine, or Poles hesitating between a slice of Russia and a chunk of Germany, or Yugoslavs rolling up their sleeves to operate on Italy—is even worse than the imperialism of the Big Ones, who have to their credit, if not allegiance to justice, at least the prestige of uncounterfeited power (which is a morality of sorts). Needless to say, the acquisitiveness of the smaller states plays up the dictate of an "economic reason" that is no less make-believe and eventually murderous than the doctrine of the "strategic frontier." The "economic reason" can be taken care of through consortiums, customs unions, and such other arrangements, excellent for Trieste and for other places as well. Otherwise the flag must follow the heart, not trade—and the people of Trieste must be free to prefer, if they so wish, poverty in the family of their nation to prosperity under alien domination. If that is not going to be so, if the "freedom of assembly" is going to be hounded and lacerated in Trieste and other places, any weather man, when this battle in Europe is over, will report that it has stopped raining but the sky is more awful than before.

Let it be hoped that there are Yugoslavs who feel the same way and that not everyone in their leading groups is eager to take advantage of the opportunity that calls for remorseless handling of a prostrate neighbor. Whatever the guilt of Italy, she will have had punishment enough in blood, mud, and hunger; in political degradation; in financial and economic bankruptcy; in the 50 per cent infant mortality and the 20 per cent incidence of tuberculosis—all these aside from the irreparable defacement of her beauty with which the invader and the liberator concomitantly are finishing her make-up as a Job among the nations. A cruel and unjust mutilation, in addition to all the doom, cannot be inflicted without tipping the scales and conferring on the one-time aggressor nation a primacy among the victims who will yearn for redress. The wisdom of driving a mass of forty-five millions, whatever their weakness, into an underground of despair is debatable; while it seems legitimate to stand by the conviction that the mission of America —whose five million citizens of Italian descent, incidentally, are not likely to rejoice at the vivisection of Italy—is to teach liberty and dignity, with charity to all the peoples of Europe, not to lend an uninformed hand to political régisseurs whose concern seems to set the stage for bigger shows.

As for Sforza, I submit that *The Nation* overrated the significance of his speech. Sforza is one of the members of a self-styled Italian government who took confidential cognizance of and bowed silently to the secret second armistice, of September 29, 1943, whereby Badoglio purchased security for his rajah-king at the price of Italy's unofficial but wholesale annexation by the

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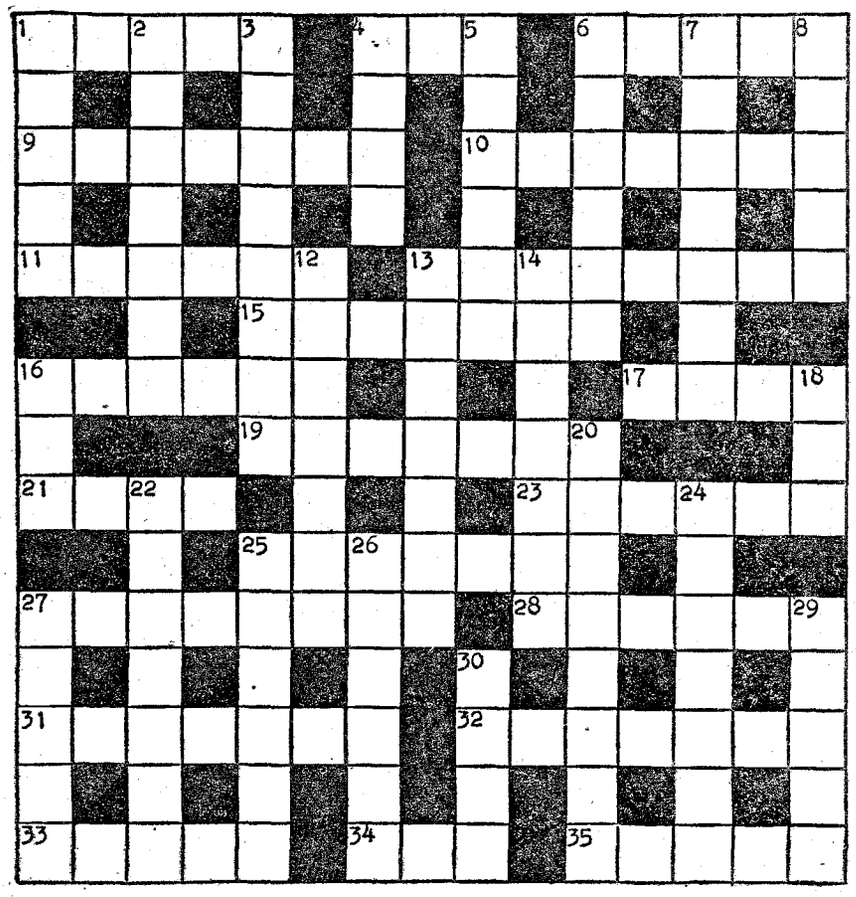
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 83

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Start here
4 Knave of clubs at loo
6 Juno transplanted his eyes into the tail of a peacock
9 Full of panegyrics
10 An English girl in the trappings of royalty
11 They are heard repeatedly
13 Doll which opens with an exclamation
15 Reliquaries for relics
16 Arrive at Sambo's reference to Mussolini
17 Loose
19 Inroads (anag.)
21 These rags usually come on in the evening
23 Tooth's overcoat
25 House-warming affair (hyphen, 3-4)
27 A schoolgirl with this name always requires a very proper woman for a head
28 A sporting designation applied by the English to the Scotch
31 "How happy could I be with either, Were t'other dear ------- away!" (Gay)
32 Star with a 45-inch inside measurement!
33 Blunt end of the ship
34 Fared back and forth
35 Housebreaker in *Oliver Twist*

DOWN

1 A letter from the Pope may be a long note
2 Knight without a flaw who achieved the quest of the Holy Grail
3 Nice hotel
4 Merry fairy in *Midsummer Night's Dream*
5 A Scots man finishes off a Latter-Day Saint
6 Fourteen guarded the sleeping children in *Hansel and Gretel*
7 Hollywood impresario
8 Hardly diplomatic language
12 American general of "War is hell!" fame
13 Otherwise the camelopard
14 They usually have some visible means of support
16 "In one door and out of the other, like a --- at a fair"
18 Poured on troubled waters
20 American slippers
22 Flatter
24 Abyssinian emperor who routed the Italians at Adowa in 1896
25 English, not a Teutonic, composer
26 Being full of anxiety is naturally frightened
27 River famed in literature of the Wild and Woolly West
29 Children's playgrounds
30 Consumed

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 82

ACROSS:—1 UNCAS; 4 BOWER; 7 WEST; 9 HAVANA; 10 APSES; 12 LEAH; 13 HUTS; 15 EASIEST; 17 ENLIST; 18 ERRORS; 19 AGE; 21 JACKASS; 23 ENCHAIN; 24 HAL; 26 SPADES; 28 HERMES; 31 SCOOPED; 32 NAGS; 35 ALMA; 36 HEART; 37 SAVILE; 38 PEST; 39 BOHEA; 40 DENTS.

DOWN:—1 UTAH; 2 CRAVAT; 3 SHAKING; 4 BRAISE; 5 WASH; 6 RUST; 7 WILDE; 8 SHALL; 11 EUROPA; 14 SUSAN; 15 ESCAPES; 16 TRACKED; 19 ASH; 20 EEL; 21 JASON; 22 CHANGE; 25 AROUSED; 27 SCOTIA; 28 HEAVEN; 29 MELEE; 30 START; 33 AHAB; 34 SASH; 35 ALPS.

British Empire, otherwise called Sphere of Influence, in which she "lives, and moves, and has her being." It is the burden of all American correspondence, from Mrs. McCormick's to the greenest newcomer's, that there is no such thing as an Italian government except in its capacity as a blotter for British edicts, more or less automatically countersigned by the great Allies. Sforza's word was relevant as long as it was spoken by a free man in a free country. The little good and the much bad he is reported to have said in his present status are equally cryptic, and needful of a decoding labor that would be sadly out of proportion with his power.

What remains is our obdurate expectation of a sudden act of faith and firmness that will restore him to the place of authority he held in his years of exile. Short of it, the circumstance that he is a minister without even a portfolio, would sharpen, not blunt, a judgment like Trotsky's when Chernov accepted a post in a hollow coalition government: "What a contemptible ambition!—to abandon his historic position for a portfolio."

G. A. BORGESE

Chicago, Ill., September 10

Dr. Johnson, Reporter

Dear Sirs: Re Cross-Word Puzzle No. 79, "26 across":

In which one of his works or on what occasion did Dr. Johnson use William Pitt's historic admission to "the atrocious crime of being a young man," as imputed to the former by the usually meticulous Jack Barrett? *Quandoque dormitat et mirabilis Johanniculus!*

MORGAN BARNES

Grove City, Pa., September 2

Dear Sirs: The clue was quite correct: Samuel Johnson made the remark and *attributed* it to Pitt, as Hugh Kingsmill makes clear:

"Cave, the proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine,* commissioned him [Johnson] to report the debates in Parliament. A single visit to the House of Commons sufficed Johnson, who thenceforward *made up the speeches out of his own mind* with a force and eloquence which raised the circulation of the magazine by some thousands . . ." (italics mine).

Bartlett's "Familiar Quotations" footnotes the passage, "Pitt's reply to Walpole," but you will have to look under "Samuel Johnson" to find it.

JACK BARRETT

New Castle, N. H., September 8

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